THE

HISTORY

OF

HERODOTUS,

TRANSLATED

FROM

THE GREEK.

WITH NOTES.

BY

THE REVEREND WILLIAM BELOE.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

L O D O N:
ED F EIGH AND SOT
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INTRODUCTION.

WHOEVER has employed his time on a long and laborious work, is anxious to prove to others, as well as to himſelf, the utility of what he has performed; ſince the imputation and the conſciouſneſs of having miſapplied ſuch efforts, are almoſt equally unpleaſing. If authority be allowed an adequate juſtification, the tranſlator from claſſic writers has little occaſion to argue in his own defence, the practice of the ableſt men in the moſt enlightened countries being undeniably on his ſide. Of Italian and French literature, tranſlations from the claſſics form no ſmall or unimportant part; and if in our own language, accurate verſions of many ancient authors be ſtill wanting, the deficiency is owing, I conceive, to ſome

THE TANJORE MAHARAJA SERFOGI'S SARASWATI MAHAL.

to prove deciſively the opinion held of them by ſome of our moſt accurate and judicious ſcholars. In tranſlating the Ancient Poets, our countrymen have, indeed, very honourably exerted their talents, and their ſucceſs has proved that our language is fully calculated for the transfuſion of the higheſt claſſical beauties: while the French, among whom the demand for tranſlations has urged them to be performed at any rate, have been obliged to content themſelves with proſaic verſions of the nobleſt poems of antiquity. The honour thus acquired, ought to have encouraged us to proceed in laying open the remaining ſtores of ancient literature. But it is a humbler taſk to follow the ſteps of a proſe writer, than to emulate the flights and harmony of a poet.

There appears to be only one important objection, that can be made to works of this nature, which is founded on a fear that they may encourage indolence, and introduce the ſuperficial oſtentation of a knowledge neither ſound nor accurate, to the prejudice of real learning. That vanity may be furniſhed, by tranſlations, with the mean of pretending to acquiſitions which ſhe has not made, cannot perhaps be denied, and ſuch effects may certainly be traced in many writings of our continental n[illegible]bours; but that literature will thereby be inju[illegible], is not equally [illegible] pable of proof. The founda[illegible]n of learning i[illegible] ally laid, if laid at all, and [illegible]e taſte for it [illegible] if it can be commun[illegible] [illegible]ore the ſtud[illegible] [illegible]rty of conſidering wh[illegible] is ea[illegible] [illegible]ts in their own lan[illegible]

ſions; and till we hear that ſome perſons have ſtudied Greek, becauſe there were books in that language of which they could not find tranſlations, we may reſt ſatisfied, that few, if any, will neglect ſuch ſtudies on the mere proſpect of that aſſiſtance. But an abuſe, if it did exiſt, ought not to preclude the uſe; and whoever recollects how much our favourite Shakſpeare enlarged the treaſures of his active mind, by information deduced from theſe ſecondary ſources, will confeſs, at leaſt, that an excellent, as well as an impertinent or idle uſe may be made of tranſlated Claſſics.

In this country, where ſucceſsful induſtry produces elevation of rank, and gives acceſs to poliſhed ſociety, there will always be many perſons, who with enlightened and diſcerning minds, and a conſiderable diſpoſition to literature, are debarred from the peruſal of ancient authors by the want of a ſuitable education. Many by birth entitled to every advantage, are early called away from learning to ſcenes of active occupation. Some ſuch I have ſeen, and highly value, who, not aſhamed of a deficiency occaſioned by unavoidable circumſtances, or by honeſt, uſeful, and honourable occupations, are deſirous to form, if poſſible, complete collections of approv[illegible] nd elegant tranſla[illegible]ns. But whether the deſire of [illegible] aid be thus ge[illegible]ral, or directed only to particu-[illegible]thors, whethe[illegible] it be entertained by men or [illegible] it is liber[illegible] [illegible]kind, and ought by all [illegible] gratifi[illegible]

Nor is it only to unlearned perſons that tranſlations may be of ſervice; to thoſe alſo who are employed in the ſtudy of the ancient languages, they are often highly uſeful. In obſcure and perplexed paſſages, they who publiſh notes, not unfrequently conſult their eaſe, by paſſing over in ſilence what they are not able to explain; and even they by whom the Latin verſions annexed to Greek authors were formed, will be found on many occaſions, by rendering word for word, to have left the ſenſe as dark as they found it in the original; but a tranſlator into vernacular language, is a commentator, who is bound, if poſſible, to explain every thing: his verſion, in order to be approved, muſt have the air and manner of an original, and he has no more licence to be obſcure than if it really were ſo. Being confined to this attention throughout, he uſually examines and compares with greater diligence than any other commentator: he is compelled at leaſt to underſtand himſelf, which is one good ſtep towards being intelligible to others, and, where he finds this wholly impracticable, is driven ingenuouſly to con-

there can be no doubt concerning the claim of Herodotus to an early diftinction of this kind. His matter is no lefs curious than diverfified, and his hiftory, as far as his own knowledge and diligent refearches could make it, entitled to attention and belief. When he approaches to his own times, there is little reafon to fufpect him of error or inaccuracy; and, whatever we may think of fome particulars refpecting the Perfian invafion, he is in that matter as moderate as any of his countrymen; and, in a cafe fo very extraordinary, the depofition of fuch a witnefs muft deferve particular confideration.

Yet Herodotus, though mentioned always with refpect, and dignified by courtefy with the title of the Father of Hiftory, has been treated with fome neglect by the English literati. While Thucydides and Xenophon have been naturalized among us, in correct and elegant tranflations, this Hiftorian, the firft remaining link of that important chain, has hitherto been reprefented only by Littlebury. The fcarcenefs of that tranflation, notwithftanding the incon-

ſaid, by ſuch as are more ready to throw out an acute than a candid obſervation, that in ſo doing, I have probably conſulted my own ſtrength, as much as the reader's convenience. This I ſhall neither acknowledge nor deny: but when it ſhall be ſeen how various the matter is, which, even for the abovementioned purpoſes, I have been obliged to collect, the imputation perhaps will not be thought extremely formidable. For my own part, I ſhall be fully ſatisfied with what I have done, if it ſhall be pronounced, by thoſe who are capable of deciding, that, in ſo many topics of enquiry, I have in general been happy enough to avoid miſleading my readers.

From the notes to M. Larcher's celebrated French tranſlation, which are very numerous, and intended evidently for the critical and the learned, rather than the common reader, I have extracted ſuch as ſeemed moſt ſuited to my own deſign: to theſe I have ſubjoined his name. For the reſt, which have the ſignature of *T.* annexed, I confeſs myſelf reſponſible: except in the caſe of a very few, the contribution of one or t[illegible]o friends, which, for many reaſons, I ſhould have bee[illegible] glad to have had ſo numerous, as to have dema[illegible]ded [illegible]parate ſignature[illegible] The aſſiſtance, however, th[illegible] I have received, I ſha[illegible] always thankfully acknowle[illegible]e, and be rather [illegible] to declare, than ſtudious to [illegible]nceal.

I SHALL now [illegible] this add[illegible] [illegible]ope, the reader will [illegible]onvi[illegible]

him an uſeful work, and one executed with the ſpirit of a man who wiſhes to ſerve the public, and to promote the cauſe of literature. The labour of almoſt three years is now ſubmitted to his judgment; for which, though I have not conſcious dignity enough to diſmiſs it without any apprehenſion, I requeſt no further indulgence than candour will readily beſtow on a work of difficult execution; I have done my beſt, and muſt abide the conſequences. Avocations, cares, and ill-health, I have had in common with others; but theſe are ſo inſeparable from human life, that they ought perhaps to be ſuppoſed in every eſtimate of labour. It has been remarked, by critics of deſerved eminence and popularity, that the perfections and beauties of a tranſlation are uſually, without reſerve, referred to the merit of the original work; while all defects and imperfections are heaped upon the ſhoulders of the poor tranſlator. To this common lot of my brethren, I alſo very willingly ſubmit; nor can there, perhaps, be two authors more likely to juſtify ſuch deciſions than Herodotus and his Tranſlator. Had I been aware how much of my time would be occupied by this undertaking, I ſhould probably have ſhrunk from it: now it is completed, whether I ſhall again venture upon that perilous ocean, where many a braver heart [illegible] mine has trembled, will depend perhaps upon [illegible]gree of approbation which the preſent adven[illegible]ll obtain from my impartial and judicious [illegible]en.

HERODO[illegible]

HERODOTUS.

CLIO.

[1] CHAP. I.

TO refcue from oblivion the memory of former incidents, and to render a juft tribute of renown to the many great and wonderful actions, both of Greeks and Barbarians [2], Herodotus [3] of Halicarnaffus produces this Hiftorical Effay.

Among

[1] The fimplicity with which Herodotus commences his Hiftory, and enters immediately on his fubject, has been much and defervedly admired, and exhibits a ftriking contraft to the elaborate introductions of modern writers. It is not, however, peculiar to Herodotus; it was the beautiful diftinction of almoft all the more ancient authors.—T.

[2] *Barbarians.*]—As this word fo frequently occurs in the progrefs of our work, it may be neceffary, once for all, to advertife the Englifh reader, that the ancients ufed it in a much milder fenfe than we do. Much as has been faid of the pride of old Romans, the word in queftion may tend to prove, that ...ere in fome inftan... lefs tenacious of their national dig... n the Greeks. The appellation of Barbarians was given ... reeks to all the world but themfelves; the Romans ... ll the world, b... s.—T.

... -It has ... a doubt, by m... er it ... Frodotus.

Among other things, it will be neceſſary to inveſtigate the ſources of the hoſtilities which ſubſiſted between theſe people. The more learned of the Perſians aſſert the Phœnicians to have been the original exciters of contention. This nation migrated from the borders of the Red Sea [4] to the place of their preſent ſettlement, and ſoon diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their long and enterprizing voyages [5]. They exported to Argos, amongſt other places,

my own part, as I am able to remember no proper name terminating in dorus and dotus, as Diodorus, Diodotus, Heliodorus, &c. which is not derived from the name of a divinity, I have no ſcruple in aſſerting my belief, that it muſt be Herodotus, compounded of dotus and the Greek name of Juno.—*T.*

There is hardly any author, ancient or modern, who has been more warmly commended or more vehemently cenſured than this eminent Hiſtorian; but even the ſevere Dionyſius declares, he is one of thoſe enchanting writers, whom you peruſe to the laſt ſyllable with pleaſure, and ſtill wiſh for more. Plutarch himſelf, who has made the moſt violent attack on his veracity, allows him all the merit of beautiful compoſition.—*Hayley.*

[4] *From the borders of the Red Sea.*]—When Herodotus ſpeaks, for the firſt time, of any people, he always goes to their original ſource. Some authors make the Phœnicians to have originated from the Perſian Gulph; which opinion,

places, the produce of Ægypt and Affyria. Argos, at that period, was the moft famous of all thofe ftates which are now comprehended under the general appellation of Greece [6]. On their arrival here, the Phœnicians expofed their merchandize to fale; after remaining about fix days, and when they had almoft difpofed of their different articles of commerce, the king's daughter, whom both nations agree in calling Io, came among a great number of other women to vifit them at their ftation. Whilft thefe females, ftanding near the ftern of the veffel, amufed themfelves with bargaining for fuch things as attracted their curiofity, the Phœnicians, in conjunction, made an attempt to feize their perfons. The greater part of them efcaped, but Io remained a captive, with many others. They carried them on board, and directed their courfe for Ægypt.

II. The

Greeks who undertook long voyages were the Ionians. Upon this people, Mr. Wood, in his Effay on Homer, has the following remark: " From the general character by which Homer conftantly diftinguifhes the Phœnicians, as a commercial and feafaring people, it has been naturally fuppofed, that he was

II. The relation of the Greeks differs eſſentially; but this, according to the Perſians, was the cauſe of Io's arrival in Egypt, and the firſt act of violence which was committed. In proceſs of time, certain Grecians, concerning whoſe country writers diſagree, but who were really of Crete, are reported to have touched at Tyre, and to have carried away Europa, the daughter of the prince. Thus far the Greeks had only retaliated [7]; but they were certainly guilty of the ſecond provocation. They made a voyage in a veſſel of war [8] to Æa, a city of Colchos, near the river Phaſis; and, after having accompliſhed the more immediate object of their expedition, they forcibly carried off the king's daughter, Medea. The king of Colchos diſpatched a herald to demand ſatisfaction for the affront, and the reſtitution of the princeſs; but the Greeks replied, that

of its different inhabitants. Homer ſpeaks of the Danaans, Argives, Achaians, &c. but never gives theſe people the general name of Greeks.—*Larcher.*

[7] *Thus far the Greeks had only retaliated.*]—The Editor is in poſſeſſion of a tranſlation of the two firſt books of Herodotus, publiſhed in London ſo ea[illegible]y as the year 1584. It is in black letter, and may be conſide[illegible]ed as a great curioſity. The above paſſage is thus rendered: "It chaunced afterward, that certaine Greekes, whoſe names [illegible]ey knew not, taking ſhore and landing at Tyrus, in like mann[illegible]r made a rape of the kinges daughter, named Europa. Theſe [illegible]re the people of Crete, otherwiſe called the Cretenſes. By [illegible]ich meanes yt was [illegible]les and cardes betweene them, the one [illegible]eyng full meete a[illegible] quit with the other."—*The firſt Booke of Clio, London,* 1584.

[8] *In a veſſel of war.*]—[illegible] a long veſſel.—[illegible]he long veſſels were veſſels of war, [illegible] veſſels, m[illegible]rchan[illegible] [illegible]ſports.—*T.*

they ſhould make no reparation in the preſent inſtance, as the violence formerly offered to Io[9] remained ſtill unexpiated.

III. In the age which followed, Alexander, the ſon of Priam, encouraged by the memory of theſe events, determined on obtaining a wife from Greece, by means of ſimilar violence; fully perſuaded that this, like former wrongs, would never be avenged.

Upon the loſs of Helen, the Greeks at firſt employed meſſengers to demand her perſon, as well as a compenſation for the affront. All the ſatisfaction they received was reproach for the injury which had been offered to Medea; and they were farther aſked, how, under circumſtances entirely alike, they could reaſonably require, what they themſelves had denied.

IV. Hitherto the animoſity betwixt the two nations extended no farther than to acts of perſonal and private violence. But at this period, continue the Perſians, the Greeks certainly laid the foundation of ſubſequent contention; who, before the Per-

ſians ever invaded Europe, doubtleſs made military incurſions into Aſia. The Perſians appear to be of opinion, that they who offer violence to women muſt be inſenſible to the impreſſions of humanity and juſtice, but that ſuch provocations are as much beneath revenge, as the women themſelves are undeſerving of regard: it being obvious, that all the females thus circumſtanced muſt have been more or leſs acceſſary [10] to the fact. They aſſerted alſo, that although women had been forcibly carried away from Aſia, they had never reſented the affront. The Greeks, on the contrary, to avenge the rape of a Lacedæmonian woman, had aſſembled a mighty fleet, entered Aſia in a hoſtile manner, and had totally overthrown the empire of Priam. Since which event they had eſteemed themſelves juſtified in conſidering the Greeks as the public enemies of their nation. It is to be obſerved, that the Perſians

[10] *More or leſs acceſſary, &c.*]—Plutarch, who has written an eſſay expreſsly to convict Herodotus of malignity, introduces this as the firſt argument of the truth of his accuſation. The Greeks, ſays he, unanimouſly affirm, that Io had divine honours paid her by the Barbarians; th[illegible]t many ſeas and capacious harbours were called after her nam[illegible]; that to her many illuſtrious families owe their original: yet t[illegible]is celebrated writer does not heſitate to ſay of her, that ſhe ſuf[illegible]red herſelf to be enjoyed by a Phœnician mariner, with whon[illegible] ſhe fled, from the fear of being diſgraced by the publicati[illegible]of her crime. He afterwards endeavours to throw an od[illegible]m on the moſt illu[illegible]ous actions of his countrymen, by inti[illegible]ating that the Tro[illegible]n war was undertaken on account of a profligate woman. "[illegible]or it is evident," ſays he, "tha[illegible]en would have bee[illegible]ever carried away except wi[illegible] [illegible]onſent."—*Plutar*[illegible] [illegible]*ignity of Herodotus.*

esteem Asia, with all its various and barbarous inhabitants, as their own peculiar possession, considering Europe and Greece as totally distinct and unconnected.

V. The above is the Persian tradition; who date the cause and origin of their enmity to Greece from the destruction of Troy. What relates to Io is denied by the Phœnicians; who affirm, that she was never forcibly carried into Ægypt. They assert, that during their continuance at Argos, she had an illicit connection with the pilot of their vessel [11], and, proving pregnant, she voluntarily accompanied them to Ægypt, to avoid the detection of her crime and the indignation of her parents. Having now stated the different representations of the Persians and Phœnicians, I shall not detain the reader by an investigation of the truth of either narrative. I shall commence with an account of that personage, of whose first attacks upon Greece there exists the most unquestionable testimony. I shall, as I proceed, describe with some minuteness the smaller cities and larger communities: for, many of these,

[11] *Connection with the pilot of their vessel.*]—I make no apology for inserting the following [illegible]ngular translation of the above passage:—"With whose asser[illegible]ns the Phœnices agree not aboute the lad[illegible] Io; whom they flatly [illegible]enye to have beene caryed by them into [illegible]gipt in manner of a rape: shewinge howe that in their abod[illegible] at Argos, shee fortuned to close with the mayster of a shippe, and feelynge herselfe to [illegible]e spe[illegible], fearynge and doubt-in[illegible] [illegible]he severitye [illegible] tyrannie of her parentes, [illegible] of her [illegible] [illegible]inglye toke shi[illegible] [illegible] way[illegible]

at present possessed neither of opulence nor power, were formerly splendid and illustrious; others have, even within my remembrance, risen from humility to grandeur. From my conviction, therefore, of the precarious nature of human felicity [12], these shall all be respectively described.

VI. Crœsus, by descent a Lydian, was the son of Alyattes, and sovereign of those countries which lie on this side the river Halys. This stream, in its passage from the south [13] towards the north, passes

[12] *Precarious nature of human felicity.*]—This moral reflection of Herodotus cannot fail of bringing to mind the consolatory letter written from Greece, by Sulpicius to Cicero, on the death of Tullia the orator's daughter. At the distance of more than four hundred years from the time of Herodotus, Sulpicius thus expresses himself on a similar occasion:—"On my return from Asia, as I was sailing from Ægina towards Megara, I could not help looking round on the circumjacent country. Behind me was Ægina, before me Megara, Piræus on my right hand, Corinth on my left; all which places, formerly flourishing and happy, now laid before my eyes prostrate and in ruins, &c." The whole letter is eminently beautiful, and I lament that it is beyond our limits to transcribe it.—*T.*

[13] *This stream, in its passage from the south.*]—There are different opinions concerning the course of this river. Arrian says, that it does not flow from the south, but from the east. This

through Syria [14] and Paphlagonia [15], and finally empties itſelf into the Euxine. Crœſus, we have reaſon to believe, was the firſt of the Barbarian princes who exacted tribute from ſome nations of Greece, and entered into leagues of amity with others. Before his time, the Greeks were univerſally free; he, however, ſubdued the Æolians, the Ionians, with ſuch of the Dorians as are ſituate in Aſia, whilſt he formed a friendly alliance with the Lacedæmonians. It appears that the incurſion of the Cimmerians [16] into Ionia, was before the time of Crœſus; but their ſole object was plunder, and none of the cities were moleſted.

VII. The family of Crœſus were termed the Mermnadæ; and it may be proper to relate by

[14] *Syria.*]—Syria was at that time the name of Cappadocia. See Chapter lxxvi.—*T.*

[15] *Paphlagonia.*—It may appear matter of ſurprize to ſome, that Herodotus ſhould make the Syrians border on the Paphlagonians. But by the Syrians, Herodotus here means the Cappadocians, called by the Greeks Leuco, or White Syrians. This is obvious from Strabo, as well as from Herodotus himſelf, in his ſecond Book.—*Palmerius.*

[16] *Cimmerians.*]—Strabo dates this incurſion of the Cimmerians about the time of Homer, or ſomewhat before. Weſſeling thinks, and with reaſon, the authority of the geographer of leſs [illegible] historian, who ſuppoſes it to have

what means the empire defcended to them from the Heraclidæ. Candaules, whom the Greeks call Myrfilus, was king of Sardis, and of the family of Alcæus the fon of Hercules [17]. The firft of the Heraclidæ was Agron [18], who reigned alfo at Sardis; he was the fon of Ninus, the grandfon of Belus, the great-grandfon of Alcæus. Candaules the fon of Myrfus was the laft of this race. The people of this diftrict were in ancient times called Meonians; they were afterwards named Lydians, from Lydus the fon of Atys. From him, before the time of Agron, the princes of the country derived their origin. The Heraclidæ, defcended from Hercules and a female flave of Jardanus [19], enjoyed a delegated authority from thefe princes, and afterwards obtained the fupreme dignity from the decla-

[17] *Alcæus the fon of Hercules.*]—Concerning the name of the fon of Hercules by the female flave of Jardanus, Diodorus Siculus and our hiftorian are at variance. Herodotus calls him Alcæus, Diodorus fays his name was Cleolaus. But it is by no means furprizing, that in matters of fuch remote antiquity writers fhould difagree. Apollodorus contradicts both Herodotus and Diodorus, and makes Crœfus not one of the Mermnadæ, but one of the Heraclidæ, born of Agelaus fon of Hercules by Omphale. Diodorus calls the fon of Hercules, by Omphale, Lacon. I prefume not to decide in this controverfy, but with me the authority of Herodotus has the greateft weight.—*Palmerius.*

[18] *Agron.*]—Thus the beft manufcripts fpell this name. Julius Pollux fays, that Ninus, fon of Belus, called his fon Agron becaufe he was born in the country.—*Larcher.*

[19] *Jardanus.*]—In contr[illegible] to both Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus, Pal[illegible] [illegible]ibilibus [illegible]

ration of an oracle. They retained their power, in regular and uninterrupted fucceffion, from father to fon, to the time of Candaules, a period equal to twenty-two ages of man [20], being no lefs than five hundred and five years.

VIII. Candaules [21] was attached to his wife beyond the common limits of affection, and conceived,

[20] *Twenty-two ages of man.*]—For twenty-two, Larcher reads fifteen ages.—That it ought to be fo we are ready enough to believe, and his arguments on the fubject are clear, ingenious, and convincing; but, having no authority for this reading in any edition which we have had the opportunity of confulting, it was thought proper literally to tranflate the text.—*T.*

[21] *Candaules.*]—The ftory of Rofamond, queen of the Lombards, as recited by Mr. Gibbon, bears fo exact a refemblance to this of Candaules, that we are unable to forego the pleafure of tranfcribing it.—" The queen of Italy had ftooped from her throne to the arms of a fubject: and Helmichis, the king's armour-bearer, was the fecret minifter of her pleafure, and revenge. Againft the propofal of the murder he could no longer urge the fcruples of fidelity or gratitude; but Helmichis trembled when he revolved the danger, as well as the guilt. He preffed, and obtained, that one of the braveft champions of the Lombards fhould be affociated to the enterprize; but no more than a promife of fecrecy could be drawn from the gallant Perideus.—The mode of feduction employed by Rofamond, betrays her fhamelefs infenfibility both to honour and to love. She fupplied the place of one of her female attendants, who was beloved by Perideus, and contrived fome excufe for darknefs and filence, till fhe could inform her companion, that he had enjoyed the queen of the Lombards, and that his own death, or the death of the king, muft be the confequence of fuch treafonable adultery. In this alternative he [illegible]fe rather to be the accomplice [illegible]im of Rofam[illegible] [illegible]unted fpirit was inca-[illegible]morfe.

in the ardour of his paſſion, that her beauty was beyond all competition. Among thoſe who attended near his perſon, Gyges the ſon of Daſcylus had rendered him eſſential ſervice, and was honoured by his particular confidence. To him he frequently extolled the beauty of his wife, in exaggerated terms. Under the influence of a moſt fatal deluſion, he took an opportunity of thus addreſſing him: "Gyges, I am ſatisfied, that we receive leſs conviction from what we hear, than from what we ſee [22], and, as you do not ſeem to credit all I tell you of my wife's perſonal accompliſhments, I am determined that you ſhall ſee her naked." "Suffer me," replied Gyges, "to remonſtrate againſt the imprudence of your propoſal. Remember, Sir, that with her

[22] *From what we hear, than from what we ſee.*]—Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis remarks on this paſſage, that Herodotus here, introducing a Barbarian to notice, makes uſe of a figurative expreſſion peculiarly appropriate to Barbarians; ſubſtituting the ears and the eyes for the diſcourſe and the ſight of objects.

Segnius irritant animos demiſſa per aurem
Quam quæ ſunt oculis ſubjecta fidelibus.
Hor. Ars Poet. 180.

her cloaths a woman puts off her modesty[23]. Many are the precepts recorded by the sages for our instruction, but there is none more entitled to our regard than that 'it becomes a man to look into those things only which concern himself.' I give implicit confidence to your assertions, I am willing to believe my mistress the most beautiful of her sex; but I beg you not to repeat a request with which it will be criminal to comply."

IX. Gyges, from apprehension of the event, would have persevered in his refusal; but the king

us from perceiving, that both the above remarks want solidity. The truth is, that we do not more implicitly believe our eyes than our ears, or the contrary, except in those cases which respectively demand the testimony of either organs. It should be remembered, that when any thing is related to us, our ears give no kind of testimony concerning the fact, they inform us only that such words are spoken to us: after which, if what is related be an object of sight, we wish to appeal to our eyes for proof; if an object of hearing, to our ears; if of taste, smell, or touch, to the organs formed for such decision: and this is the sole ground of preference in any case. The remark of Horace rests on a different foundation, and is very just.—*T.*

[23] *With her cloaths a woman puts off her modesty.*]—We can by no means, says Plutarch, in his Conjugal Precepts, allow this saying of Herodotus to be true: for surely, at this time, a modest woman is most effectually veiled by bashfulness, when the purest but most diffident affection proves, in the privacy of matrimonial retirement, the surest testimony of reciprocated love.—*T.*

Timæus in Athenæus affirms, that the Tyrrhenians accustomed themselves to be waited upon by naked women; and Theopom[illegible] in the same author, [illegible] the above-mentioned [illegible] by no mean[illegible] women [illegible] appear [illegible] —*La*[illegible]

could not be diſſuaded from his purpoſe. "Gyges," he reſumed, "you have nothing to fear from me or from your miſtreſs; I do not want to make experiment of your fidelity, and I ſhall render it impoſſible for the queen to detect you. I myſelf will place you behind an open door of the apartment in which we ſleep. As ſoon as I enter, my wife will make her appearance; it is her cuſtom to undreſs herſelf at leiſure, and to place her garments one by one on a chair near the entrance. You will have the faireſt opportunity of contemplating her perſon. As ſoon as ſhe approaches the bed, and her face is turned from you, you muſt be careful to leave the room without being diſcovered.

X. Gyges had no alternative but compliance. At the time of retiring to reſt, he accompanied Candaules to his chamber, and the queen ſoon afterwards appeared. He ſaw her enter, and gradually diſrobe herſelf. She approached the bed; and Gyges endeavoured to retire, but the queen ſaw and knew him. She inſtantly conceived her huſband to be the cauſe of her diſgrace, and determined on revenge. She had the preſence of mind

and among the Lydians in particular, for even a man to be ſeen naked, is deemed a matter of the greateſt turpitude.

XI. The queen perſevered in the ſtricteſt ſilence; and, having inſtructed ſome confidential ſervants for the occaſion, ſhe ſent in the morning for Gyges. He, not at all ſuſpicious of the event, complied inſtantly with the meſſage, as he was accuſtomed to do at other times, and appeared before his miſtreſs [25]. As ſoon as he came into her preſence, ſhe thus ad-

To the above remark of Larcher may be added, that, according to Plutarch, it was amongſt the inſtitutes of Lycurgus, that the young women of Sparta ſhould dance naked at their ſolemn feaſts and ſacrifices; at which time alſo they were accuſtomed to ſing certain ſongs, whilſt the young men ſtood in a circle about them, to ſee and hear them.—*T.*

[25] *Appeared before his miſtreſs.*]—The wife of Candaules, whoſe name Herodotus forbears to mention, was, according to Hephæſtion, called Nyſſia. Authors are divided in their account of this Gyges, and of the manner in which he ſlew Candaules. Plato makes him a ſhepherd in the ſervice of the Lydian king, who was poſſeſſed of a ring which he found on the finger of a dead man incloſed within a horſe of bronze. The ſhepherd, learning the property which this ring had, to render him inviſible when the ſeal was turned to the inſide of his hand, got himſelf deputed to the court by his fellows, where he ſeduced the queen, and aſſaſſinated Candaules. Xenophon ſays he was a ſlave; but this is not inconſiſtent with the account of Plato, were it in other reſpects admiſſible. Plutarch pretends, that Gyges took up arms againſt Candaules, aſſiſted by the Mileſians. The opinion of Herodotus ſeems preferable to the

dreſſed him: " Gyges, I ſubmit two propoſals to your choice; you muſt either deſtroy Candaules, and take poſſeſſion of me and of the kingdom, or expect immediate death. Your unqualified obedience to your maſter, may prompt you to be once again a ſpectator of what modeſty forbids: the king has been the author of my diſgrace; you alſo, in ſeeing me naked, have violated decorum; and it is neceſſary that one of you ſhould die." Gyges, after he had ſomewhat recovered from his aſtoniſhment, implored her not to compel him to ſo delicate and difficult an alternative. But when he found that all expoſtulations were in vain, and that he muſt either put Candaules to death, or die himſelf, he choſe rather to be the ſurvivor. " Since my maſter muſt periſh," he replied, " and, notwithſtanding my reluctance, by my hands, by what means can your purpoſe be accompliſhed?" " The deed," ſhe anſwered, " ſhall be perpetrated in that very place which was the ſcene of my diſgrace. You ſhall kill my huſband in his ſleep."

[26] XII. Their meaſures were accordingly concerted: Gyges had no opportunity of eſcape, nor of evading the alternative before propoſed. At the approach of night, the queen conducted him to her chamber, and placed him behind the ſame door,

[26] Upon the event recorded in this chapter, the firſte booke of Clio has this curious remark in the margin: " The Divil in old tyme a diſpoſer of ki[illegible]omes, and ſince the Pope."—*T.*

wi[illegible]

with a dagger in his hand. Candaules was murdered in his ſleep, and Gyges took immediate poſſeſſion of his wife and of the empire. Of the above event, Archilochus [27] of Paros, who lived about the ſame period, has made mention in ſome Iambic verſes.

XIII. A declaration of the Delphic oracle, confirmed Gyges in his poſſeſſion of the ſovereignty. The Lydians reſented the fate of Candaules, and had recourſe to arms. A ſtipulation was at length made betwixt the different parties, that if the oracle decided in favour of Gyges, he ſhould continue on the throne; if otherwiſe, it ſhould revert to the

[27] *Archilochus.*]—As without theſe concluding lines the ſenſe would be complete, many have ſuſpected them to have been inſerted by ſome copyiſt. Scaliger has reaſoned upon them, as if Herodotus meant to intimate, that becauſe Archilochus makes mention of Gyges in his verſes, he muſt have lived at the ſame period; but this by no means follows.

Of Archilochus, Quintilian remarks, that he was one of the firſt writers of Iambics; that his verſes were remarkable for their ingenuity, their elegant ſtyle, and nervous ſentiment. Book x. chap. 1.—He is alſo honourably mentioned by Horace, who confeſſes that he imitates him. See 19th Epiſtle, Book 1ſt. Ovid, if the Ibis be his, ſpeaks too of the Parian Poet. Cicero, in his Tuſculan Queſtions, ſays, that he lived in the time of Romulus. His compoſitions were ſo extremely licentious, that the Lacedæmonians ordered them to be removed from their city, and Archilochus himſelf to be baniſhed. He was afterwards killed in ſome military excurſion, by a perſon of the name of Coracus. Whoever wiſhes to have a more particular account of Archilochus, may conſult Lil. Gyraldus de Poetar. Hiſtor. dialog. ix. chap. 14.

Heraclidæ. Although Gyges retained the ſupreme authority, the words of the oracle expreſsly intimated, that the Heraclidæ ſhould be avenged in the perſon of the fifth deſcendant of Gyges. To this prediction, until it was ultimately accompliſhed, neither prince nor people paid the ſmalleſt attention. Thus did the Mermnadæ obtain the empire, to the injurious excluſion of the Heraclidæ.

XIV. Gyges, as ſoon as he was eſtabliſhed in his authority, ſent various preſents to Delphi[28], a conſiderable quantity of which were of ſilver. Among other marks of his liberality, ſix golden goblets[29], which weighed no leſs than thirty talents, deſerve

[28] *Preſents to Delphi.*]—Amongſt the ſubjects of literary controverſy betwixt Boyle and Bentley, this was one: Boyle defended Delp*hos*, principally from its being the common uſage; Bentley rejects Delphos as a barbariſm, it being merely the accuſative caſe of Delphi. He tells a ſtory of a Popiſh Prieſt, who for thirty years had read mumpſimus in his Breviary, inſtead of ſumpſimus; and, when a learned man told him of his blunder, replied, I will not change my old mumpſimus for your new ſumpſimus. From a ſimilar miſtake in the old editions of the Bible in Henry the Eighth's time, it was printed Aſſon and Mileton; under Queen Elizabeth, it was changed into Aſſon and Miletum; but in the reign of James the Firſt, it was rectified to Aſſos and Miletus.—*T.* See *Bentley on Phalaris.*

[29] *Six golden goblets.*]—In the time of Herodotus, the proportion of ſilver to gold was as one to thirteen: theſe ſix goblets, therefore, were equivalent to 2,106,000 livres. The calculations of Herodotus differ in ſome reſpects from thoſe of Diodorus Siculus.—*Voyage de Jeune Anacharſis.*

Alyattes and Crœſus obtained their wealth from ſome mines in Lydia ſituated between Atarna and Pergamos. The riches of

deserve particular mention. These now stand in the treasury of Corinth; though, in strict truth, that treasure was not given by the people of Corinth, but by Cypselus the son of Eetion [30]. This Gyges was the first of the barbarians whose history we know, who made votive offerings to the oracle, after Midas the son of Gordius [31], king of Phrygia. Midas consecrated to this purpose his own royal throne, a most beautiful specimen of art, from which he himself was accustomed to administer justice. This was deposited in the same place with the goblets of Gyges, to whose offerings of gold and silver the Delphians assigned the name of the donor. Gyges, as soon as he succeeded to the throne, carried his arms against Miletus and Smyrna, and took the city Colophon. Although he reigned thirty-eight years, he performed no other remarkable exploit: we shall proceed, therefore, to speak of his son and successor, Ardys.

of Gyges were proverbial, and were mentioned in the verses of Archilochus: those of Crœsus effectually surpassed them.

> Divitis audita est cui non opulentia Crœsi.—*Ovid.*
>
> *Larcher.*

30 *But by Cypselus the son of Eetion.*]—In the temple at Delphi were certain different apartments or chapels, belonging to different cities, princes, or opulent individuals. The offerings which these respectively made to the Deity, were here deposited.—*Larcher.*

31 *Midas the son of Gordius.*]—There were in Phrygia a number of princes called after these names, as is sufficiently proved by Bouhier.—*Larcher.*

XV. This prince vanquiſhed the Prienians, and attacked Miletus. During his reign, the Cimmerians, being expelled their country by the Nomades of Scythia, paſſed over into Aſia, and poſſeſſed themſelves of all Sardis, except the citadel.

XVI. After reigning forty-nine years, he was ſucceeded by his ſon Sadyattes, who reigned twelve years. After him, his ſon Alyattes poſſeſſed the throne. He carried on war againſt Cyaxares [32] the grandſon of Deioces, drove the Cimmerians out of Aſia, took Smyrna, which Colophon [33] had built, and invaded Clazomenæ. In his deſigns upon this place he was diſappointed; but he performed, in the courſe of his reign, many very memorable actions.

XVII. He reſumed againſt the Mileſians, the war which his father had commenced; and he conducted it in this manner:—As the time of harveſt approached, he marched an army into their country,

[32] *Againſt Cyaxares.*]—This is perfectly conſiſtent. Phraortes, the father of Cyaxares, reigned in Media at the ſame time that Ardys, grandfather of Alyattes, ſat on the throne of Sardis. —*Larcher.*

[33] *Colophon.*]—Gyges had taken Colophon, about which time doubtleſs a colony deſerted it, and ſettled at Smyrna. Κτιζω, as Weſſeling properly obſerves, is continually uſed for, to ſend out a colony. In chap. cl. it is ſaid, that ſome Colophonians, baniſhed for ſedition, had ſettled at Smyrna. If he alludes to the ſame emigrants, their ſedition was probably againſt Gyges, after his conqueſt; but theſe could hardly be numerous or reſpectable enough to deſerve the name of a colony.—*T.*

to the ſound of the paſtoral pipe, harp, and flutes maſculine and feminine [34]. On his arrival in their territories, he neither burned, nor in any reſpect injured, their edifices which ſtood in the fields; but he totally deſtroyed the produce of their lands, and then returned. As the Mileſians were ſecurely ſituated near the ſea, all attack upon their city would probably have proved ineffectual. His motive for not deſtroying their buildings was, that they might be induced again to cultivate their lands, and that on every repetition of his incurſions he might be ſecure of plunder.

XVIII. In this manner was the war protracted during a period of eleven years; in which time the Mileſians received two remarkable defeats, one in a pitched battle at Limeneium, within their own territories, another on the plains of Meander. Six of theſe eleven years, Sadyattes the ſon of Ardys reigned over the Lydians: he commenced the Mileſian war, which his ſon Alyattes afterwards continued with increaſe of ardour. The Mileſians, in this conteſt, received no aſſiſtance from any of their neighbours, except from Chios. The inhabitants of Chios offered their ſupport, in return for the aid which they had formerly received from the Mileſians, in a war with the Erythræans,

[34] *Flutes maſculine and feminine.*]—Aulus Gellius ſays, that Alyattes had in his army female players on the flute. Larcher is of opinion, that Herodotus alludes only to the different kinds of flutes mentioned in Terence, or perhaps to the Lydian and Phrygian flutes, the ſound of one of which was grave, of the other acute.—*T.*

XIX. In the twelfth year of the war, the following event happened, in consequence of the corn being set on fire by the enemy's army. A sudden wind directed the progress of the flames against the temple of the Assesian Minerva[35], and entirely consumed it. It was not at first considered as a matter of any importance; but after the return of the army to Sardis, Alyattes was seized with a severe and lingering disease. From the impulse of his own mind, or from the persuasion of his friends, he sent to make enquiries of the oracle concerning his recovery. On the arrival of his messengers, they were informed, that till the temple of the Assesian Minerva, which they had consumed by fire, should be restored, no answer would be given them.

XX. Of this circumstance I myself was informed at Delphi; but the Milesians add more. They inform us, that Periander the son of Cypselus, when he heard the answer given to Alyattes, dispatched an emissary to Thrasybulus king of Miletus, with whom he was intimately connected, desiring him to pay suitable attention to the present emergence. This is the Milesian narrative.

35 *Assesian Minerva.*]—Assesos was a small town dependent on Miletus. Minerva here had a temple, and hence took the name of the Assesian Minerva. This deity was then called the Minerva of Assesos, as we say, at the present day, the Virgin of Loretto.—*Larcher.*

The Virgin, in the Romish church, certainly resembles, in all respects, a heathen tutelary divinity; and affords one of those instances of similarity between one worship and the other, so well illustrated in Middleton's celebrated Letter from Rome.—*T.*

XXI. Alyattes, on the return of his meſſengers, diſpatched an herald to Miletus, whoſe commiſſion was, to make a truce with Thraſybulus for ſuch time as might be required to repair the temple. Thraſybulus, in conſequence of the intimation he had received, was aware of the intentions of Alyattes, and conducted himſelf in this manner: All the corn which was contained, or could be procured at Miletus, was, by his direction, collected in the moſt public place of the city: he then ordered the Mileſians, at an appointed period, to commence a ſcene of feaſting and convivial mirth [36].

XXII. Thraſybulus intended the Sardian ambaſſador ſhould inform his maſter of the ſcene of feſtivity, and of the abundance of proviſions he had beheld. He was not diſappointed: the herald witneſſed the above-mentioned ſpectacle, delivered his meſſage, and returned to Sardis. This, as I have been informed, was the ſole occaſion of the peace which enſued.

Alyattes had imagined, that the Mileſians ſuffered exceedingly from the ſcarcity of corn, and were reduced to extreme diſtreſs. The return of his meſſenger convinced him he had been miſtaken. A ſtrict alliance was immediately formed betwixt the two nations: inſtead of one, Alyattes erected two temples to Minerva, and was ſoon afterwards re-

36 *Convivial mirth.*]—Many ſtratagems of a ſimilar nature with this of Thraſybulus, may be found in the Stratagemata of Polyænus; a book not ſo well known as it merits.—*T.*

ſtored to health.—The above is a faithful account of the war betwixt Alyattes and the Mileſians.

XXIII. Periander, who communicated to Thraſybulus the information above recited, was king of Corinth. A moſt wonderful incident is ſaid by the Corinthians to have happened in his time, and the ſtory is confirmed by the Leſbians. It is aſſerted, that Arion the Methymnæan was carried to Tænarus on the back of a dolphin. [37] He excelled all his cotemporaries in his exquiſite performance on the harp; and we have reaſon to ſuppoſe he was the firſt who invented, named, and taught at Corinth, the Dithyrambic meaſure [38].

XXIV. After reſiding for a conſiderable time at the court of Periander, he was deſirous of viſiting Italy and Sicily. Acquiring there conſiderable wealth, he wiſhed to return with it to Corinth: with this view, he embarked at Tarentum in a Corinthian veſſel, preferring the mariners of that na-

[37] *He excelled.*]—Arion, it ſeems, was a Citharædus, which differed from the Cithariſtes in this: the former accompanied his inſtrument with his voice; the latter did not.

[38] *Dithyrambic meaſure.*]—This was a kind of verſe or hymn in honour of Bacchus, or in praiſe of drinking: it was a rude and perplexed compoſition, replete with figurative and obſcure expreſſions.—*Bellanger.*

Clemens of Alexandria affirms, that the inventor of the Dithyrambic was Laſſus or Laſus of Hermione. It ſhould ſeem, however, from Pindar and his ſcholiaſt, that this ſpecies of poetry is ſo very ancient that its original inventor cannot be aſcertained.—*Larcher.*

tion. As soon as they stood out to sea, the sailors determined to destroy Arion, for the sake of his riches. He discerned their intentions, and offered them his money to preserve his life. The men were obdurate, and insisted, that he should either kill himself, that they might bury him on shore [39], or leap instantly into the sea. Reduced to this extremity, he intreated, that if they would not spare his life, they would at least suffer him to decorate himself in his most valuable cloaths, and to give them a specimen of his art in singing; promising, that as soon as he had finished, he would destroy himself. They were anxious to hear a man, reputed the greatest performer in the world, and, in compliance with his request, retired from him, to the centre of their vessel. He accordingly dressed himself sumptuously, and, standing on the side of the ship with his harp in his hand, he sang to them a species of song, termed Orthian [40]. As soon as he had finished, he threw himself, dressed as he was, into the sea. The

39 *Bury him on shore.*]—This passage, which perplexed the learned Reiske, seems to me sufficiently clear. The sailors indirectly promised Arion that they would bury him, if he would be the instrument of his own death.—*Wesseling.*

40 *Orthian.*]—The Orthian hymn was an air performed either on a flute or cithara, in an elevated key and a quick time. It was, therefore, peculiarly adapted to animate combatants. See Aulus Gellius. By this species of song, Timotheus so inflamed the ardour of Alexander, that he instantly leaped up and called for his arms. See Eustathius. See also, Dryden's Ode on St. Cæcilia's Day.—Maximus Tyrius says, that to excite military ardour, the Orthian song was peculiarly adapted, as that called Paraenion

The mariners purſued their courſe to Corinth; but he, it is affirmed[41], was taken up by a dolphin and carried to Tænarus. As ſoon as he got on ſhore, he went, without changing his dreſs, to Corinth, and on his arrival told what had befallen him. Periander diſbelieved his ſtory; and, keeping him in cloſe cuſtody, endeavoured to find out the crew. As ſoon as he had met with them, he enquired if they could give him any intelligence of Arion; they replied, that his excurſion to Italy had been ſucceſsful, and that they had left him well at Tarentum. Arion then appeared, dreſſed as they had ſeen him leap into the ſea: overcome with terror at the circumſtance, they confeſſed their crime. This event is related both by the Corinthians and the Leſbians; and there remains at Tænarus a ſmall figure in braſs of a man ſeated on a dolphin's back, the votive offering of Arion himſelf.

XXV. When he had put an end to the Mileſian war, and after a reign of fifty-ſeven years, Alyattes died. He was the ſecond of his family who made an offering at Delphi, which he did in conſequence

Paraenion was for ſocial and convivial occaſions. See alſo Homer, Book xi.

> Thence the black fury through the Grecian throng
> With horror ſounds the loud Orthian ſong.—*T.*

41 *It is affirmed.*]—Voltaire abuſes Herodotus for telling this ſtory, as conſidering it true; but ſurely without reaſon, as he by no means vouches for its truth.

Gibbon, however, calls the ſtory-telling tone of Herodotus half ſceptical and half ſuperſtitious.—*T.*

of

of his recovery from illneſs. He preſented a large ſilver goblet, with a ſaucer of iron [42], curiouſly inlayed; it is of ſurpriſing workmanſhip, and as worthy of obſervation as any of the things preſerved at Delphi. The name of the maker was Glaucus, an inhabitant of Chios, and the inventor of this art of inlaying iron.

XXVI. On the death of his father, Crœſus ſucceeded to the throne; he began to reign at the age of thirty-five, and he immediately commenced hoſtilities with the Epheſians. Whilſt he beſieged Epheſus [43] with an army, the inhabitants made a ſolemn dedication of their city to Minerva, connecting by ſome ligature [44] their walls to the temple of the goddeſs. This temple is at a diſtance of about ſeven ſtadia from the old town. Soon afterwards he attacked every ſtate, both of the Ionians and the Æolians: the motives which he aſſigned were various, important in ſome inſtances, but, when ſuch could not be found, frivolous pretexts ſufficed.

42 *Saucer of iron.*]—This baſon is mentioned in Pauſanias, Book x: where alſo Glaucus is ſpoken of as the original inventor of the art. A farther account of Glaucus may be found in Junius de Pictura Veterum.—*T.*

43 *Whilſt he beſieged Epheſus.*]—The prince of Epheſus, at this time, was Pindar the nephew of Crœſus; the ſtory is told at length by Ælian, Book iii. chap. 26.—*T.*

44 *By ſome ligature.*]—The object of the ancients, by thus conſecrating their towns, was to detain the deities by a kind of force, and prevent their departure. It was believed, that when a city was on the point of being taken, the deities abandoned it. —*Larcher.*

XXVII. Not ſatisfied with compelling the Aſiatic Greeks to render him tribute, he determined on building a fleet, to attack thoſe who lived in the iſlands. From this purpoſe, although he had made great preparations, he was deterred by the memorable reply of Bias[45] of Priene, who was at that time in Sardis; or, as others ſay, of Pittacus[46] of Mitylene. Of this perſon the king was enquiring whether there was any intelligence from Greece: "The Iſlanders, Sir," he replied, "are about to form a body of ten thouſand horſe, with the intention of attacking you at Sardis." The king, ſuppoſing him ſerious, ſaid, that nothing would be more agreeable to him, than to ſee the Iſlanders invading the continent of Lydia with cavalry. The other thus interrupted him: "Your wiſh to ſee

45 *Bias.*]—Diogenes Laertius, Plutarch, and Valerius Maximus, ſeverally give an account of Bias. He was one of the ſeven wiſe men of Greece. Some fiſhermen found a golden tripod, upon which was inſcribed, "To the wiſeſt:" it was given to Bias, who ſent it to Delphi. When his vanquiſhed countrymen fled before the enemy, each took with him the moſt valuable part of his property. Bias took nothing: on being aſked why, "I always carry," he replied, "my moſt valuable things with me," meaning his learning and abilities.—*T.*

46 *Pittacus.*]—Pittacus of Mitylene was another of the ſeven wiſe men. His life is written by Diogenes Laertius. In a war betwixt the Athenians and the people of Mitylene, he challenged the enemy's general to ſingle combat, and with a net which he ſecretly brought, he entangled and eaſily conquered his adverſary. From this circumſtance, the conteſts of the Retiarii and Mirmillones are ſaid firſt to have ariſen. His moſt memorable ſaying was—"Endeavour to prevent calamity; if it happen, bear it with equanimity."—*T.*

the

the inhabitants of the iſlands purſue ſuch meaſures, is certainly reaſonable; but do you not imagine, that the circumſtance of your building a fleet to attack the Iſlanders, muſt give them equal ſatisfaction? They can wiſh for no better opportunity of revenging the cauſe of theſe Greeks on the continent, reduced by you to ſervitude, than by meeting the Lydians on the ocean." The wiſdom of the remark was acceptable to Crœſus: he not only declined all thoughts of conſtructing a fleet, but entered into an amicable alliance with the Ionians of the Iſlands.

XXVIII. He afterwards progreſſively ſubdued almoſt all the nations which are ſituate on this ſide the River Halys. The Cilicians and the Lycians alone, were not brought under his yoke; but he totally vanquiſhed the Lydians, Phrygians, Myſians, Mariandynians, Chalybians, Paphlagonians, Thracians, Thynians, Bithynians, Carians, Ionians, Dorians, Æolians, and Pamphylians.

XXIX. After Crœſus had obtained all theſe victories, and extended the power of the Lydians, Sardis became the reſort of the great and the affluent, as well as of ſuch as were celebrated in Greece for their talents and their wiſdom. Among theſe was Solon [47]: at the requeſt of the Athenians, he had formed

[47] *Solon.*]—To give a particular account of Solon, would exceed our limits. He was one of the ſeven wiſe men of Greece, born at Salamis; and, according to Aulus Gellius, flouriſhed at Athens,

formed a code of laws for their uſe. He had then engaged in a courſe of travels, which was to be of ten years continuance; his avowed purpoſe was of a philoſophical nature; but his real object was to avoid the neceſſity of abrogating the laws he had enacted. The Athenians were of themſelves unable to do this, having bound themſelves, by the moſt ſolemn oaths, to preſerve inviolate, for ten years, the inſtitutions of Solon.

XXX. During his abſence, Solon had viſited Amaſis, in Ægypt, and came now to Crœſus [48], at Sardis. He was received on his arrival with the kindeſt hoſpitality, and entertained in the palace of Crœſus. In a few days, the king directed his ſer-

Athens, when Tarquinius Priſcus reigned at Rome. He was a wiſe, but ſevere legiſlator, reſcuing his countrymen from ſuperſtition, ignorance, and vice. His life is given at length by Plutarch.—*T.*

[48] *Came now to Crœſus.*]—It is doubted by ſome authors, whether the interview which is here deſcribed, ever took place. The ſagacious reply of Solon to Crœſus has been introduced in a variety of compoſitions ancient and modern. See Juvenal, Sat. x. verſe 273. See Auſonius alſo, and Ovid. The dying ſpeech of Julian, as given by Mr. Gibbon, from Libanius, (vol. iv. p. 200, octavo edition) contains many ſentiments ſimilar to theſe of Solon. " I have learned," ſays Julian, " from religion, that an early death has often been the reward of piety." Upon which, after commending this ſtory of Cleobis and Bito, in Herodotus, our Engliſh hiſtorian adds, " Yet the Jupiter (in the 16th Book of the Iliad) who laments with tears of blood the death of Sarpedon his ſon, had a very imperfect notion of happineſs or glory beyond the grave." Pauſanias relates, that this hiſtory is repreſented in a marble monument at Argos.—*T.*

vants

vants to attend Solon to the different repoſitories of his wealth, and to ſhew him their ſplendid and valuable contents. When he had obſerved them all, Crœſus thus addreſſed him:—"My Athenian gueſt, the voice of fame ſpeaks loudly of your wiſdom. I have heard much of your travels; that you have been led, by a truly philoſophic ſpirit, to viſit a conſiderable portion of the globe. I am hence induced to enquire of you, what man, of all you have beheld, has ſeemed to you moſt truly happy?" The expectation of being himſelf eſteemed the happieſt of mankind, prompted his enquiry. Solon proved by his reply, his attachment to truth, and abhorrence of flattery. "I think," ſaid he, "O king, that Tellus the Athenian beſt deſerved the appellation of happy." Crœſus was aſtoniſhed; "On what," he aſked, were the claims of Tellus, to this diſtinction, founded?" "Becauſe," anſwered Solon, "under the protection of a moſt excellent form of government, Tellus had many virtuous and amiable children; he ſaw their offspring, and they all ſurvived him: at the cloſe of a proſperous life, we celebrated his funeral, with every circumſtance of honour. In a conteſt with ſome of their neighbours, at Eleuſis, he flew to the aſſiſtance of his countrymen: he contributed to the defeat of the enemy, and met death in the field of glory. The Athenians publicly buried him, in the place where he fell; and his funeral pomp was magnificently attended."

XXXI. Solon was continuing to make respectful mention of Tellus, when Crœsus anxiously interrupted him, and desired to know, whom, next to Tellus, he esteemed most happy; not doubting but the answer would now be favourable to himself. "Cleobis and Bito," replied Solon: "they were Argives by birth, fortunate in their circumstances, and so remarkable for their bodily prowess, that they had both of them been crowned as conquerors in their public games. It is further related of them, that on a certain festival of Juno, their mother was to have been carried to the temple in a chariot drawn by oxen. The beasts were not ready[49] for the purpose; but the young men instantly took the yokes upon themselves, and drew their mother in the carriage to the temple, through a space of forty-five furlongs. Having performed this in the presence of innumerable spectators, they terminated their lives in a manner which was singularly fortunate. In this event, the deity made it appear, that death is a greater blessing to mankind, than life. The surrounding multitude proclaimed their praise: the men commended their prowess: the women envied their mother; who was delighted with the deed itself, and the glory which attended it. Standing before the shrine, she implored the divinity, in whose honour her sons' exertions had been made, to grant them the greatest blessing man could receive;

[49] *The beasts were not ready.*]—Servius, in his commentaries on Virgil, says, that the want of oxen, on this occasion, was on account of a pestilential malady, which had destroyed all the cattle belonging to Argos.—*Servius ad Virgil. Georg. lib.* iii. 522.

ceive. After her prayers, and when the ſucceeding ſacrifice and feſtival was ended, the young men retired to reſt within the temple; but they roſe no more. The Argives have preſerved at Delphi the figures of Cleobis and Bito, as of men deſerving ſuperior diſtinction. This, according to Solon's eſtimate, was happineſs in the ſecond degree.

XXXII. Crœſus was ſtill diſſatisfied: "Man of Athens," he reſumed, "think you ſo meanly of my proſperity, as to place me even beneath men of private and obſcure condition?" "Crœſus," he replied, "you enquire of me my ſentiments of human nature; of me, who conſider the divine beings as viewing us men with invidious and malignant aſpects [50]. In the ſpace of a protracted life, how many things occur, which we ſee with reluctance and ſupport with anguiſh. I will ſuppoſe the term of human life to extend to ſeventy years [51]; this

[50] *With invidious and malignant aſpects.*]—This is one of the paſſages in which the malignity of Herodotus, according to Plutarch, is moſt conſpicuous. Thus, ſays Plutarch, attributing to Solon what he himſelf thinks of the gods, he adds malice to blaſphemy.—*T.*

[51] *The term of human life to extend to ſeventy years, &c.*]—This paſſage is confeſſedly one of the moſt difficult in Herodotus. Larcher has a long and ingenious note upon the ſubject, which we have omitted; as well from its extreme length, as from its not being intirely conſiſtent with our plan. It is not unworthy obſervation, that Stobæus, who has given this diſcourſe of Solon, omits altogether the paſſage in queſtion; and, indeed, Larcher himſelf is of opinion, that the original text of Herodotus has been here altered.—*T.*

 period,

period, if we except the intercalatory months, will amount to twenty-five thousand two hundred days: to make our computation regular and exact, suppose we add this month to each alternate year, we shall then have thirty-five additional months, or one thousand two hundred and fifty days. The whole seventy years will therefore consist of twenty-six thousand two hundred and fifty days, yet of this number will every day be productive of some new incident. Thus, Crœsus, does our nature appear a continued series of calamity. I see you as the sovereign of many nations, and possessed of extraordinary affluence and power. But I shall not be able to give a satisfactory answer to the question you propose, till I know that your scene of life shall have closed with tranquillity. The man of affluence is not, in fact, more happy than the possessor of a bare sufficiency; unless, in addition to his wealth, his end of life be fortunate [52]. We often discern misery in the midst of splendid plenty, whilst real happiness is found in humbler stations. The rich man, who knows not happiness, surpasses but in two things the humbler but more fortunate character, with which we compare him. Yet there are a variety of incidents in which the latter excels the former. The rich man can gratify his passions; and has little to apprehend from accidental

[52] *His end of life be fortunate.*]—This sentence of Solon is paraphrased by Sophocles, in his Œdipus Tyrannus. It was, indeed, a very favourite sentiment with the Greeks in general. See the Andromache of Euripides, verse 99; with many other places in his tragedies.—*Larcher.*

injuries. The poor man's condition exempts him entirely from these sources of affliction. He, moreover, possesses strength and health; a stranger to misfortune, he is blessed in his children, and amiable in himself. If at the end of such a life, his death be fortunate, this, O king, is the truly happy man; the object of your curious enquiry. Call no man happy till you know the nature of his death; he is at best but fortunate. All these requisites for happiness it is in no man's power to obtain, for no one region can supply them; it affords perhaps the enjoyment of some, but it is remarkable for the absence of others. That which yields the more numerous sources of gratification, is so far the best: such also is the imperfection of man, excellent in some respects, weak and defective in others. He who possesses the most advantages, and afterwards leaves the world with composure, he alone, O Crœsus, is entitled to our admiration. It is the part of wisdom to look to the event of things; for the Deity often overwhelms with misery, those who have formerly been placed at the summit of felicity."

XXXIII. To these words of Solon, Crœsus refused both his esteem and praise, and he afterwards dismissed the philosopher with indifference [53]. The sentiment which prompts us not to be elate with temporary

[53] *Dismissed the philosopher with indifference.*]—At this period, the celebrated Æsop was also at the court of Crœsus, and much respected. He was afflicted with the disgrace of Solon; and, conversing with him as a friend,—"You see, Solon," said he, "that

temporary bliſs, but to look beyond the preſent moment, appeared to Crœſus neither wiſe nor juſt.

XXXIV. Solon was no ſooner departed, than, as if to puniſh Crœſus for his arrogance, in eſteeming himſelf the happieſt of mankind, a wonderful event befel him, which ſeemed a viſitation from heaven. He ſaw in his ſleep a viſion, menacing the calamity which afterwards deprived him of his ſon. Crœſus had two ſons; the one marked by natural defect, being dumb; the other, whoſe name was Atys, was diſtinguiſhed by his ſuperior accompliſhments. The intimation of the viſion which Crœſus ſaw, was, that this Atys ſhould die by the point of an iron ſpear. Rouſed and terrified by his dream, he revolved the matter ſeriouſly in his mind. His firſt ſtep was to ſettle his ſon in marriage: he then took from him the command of the Lydian troops, whom he before conducted in their warlike expeditions: the ſpears and darts, with every other kind of hoſtile weapon, he removed in a heap to the female apartments, that his ſon might not ſuffer injury from the fall of them.

"that we muſt either not come nigh kings, or we muſt entertain them with things agreeable to them." "That is not the point," replied Solon; "you ſhould either ſay nothing to them, or tell them what is uſeful."—"I muſt confeſs," ſays Bayle, after relating the above, "that this caution of Æſop, argues a man well acquainted with the court and great men; but Solon's anſwer is the true leſſon of divines, who direct the conſciences of princes."—*T.*

XXXV. Whilſt the nuptials of this ſon employed his attention, an unfortunate homicide arrived at Sardis, a Phrygian by nation, and of the royal family. He preſented himſelf at the palace of Crœſus, from whom he required and received expiation [54] with the uſual ceremonies. The Lydian mode of expiation nearly reſembles that in uſe among the Greeks. When Crœſus had performed what cuſtom

[54] *Expiation.*]—It was the office of the prieſts to expiate for crimes committed either from accident or deſign, and they were therefore called Kathartai, Purifiers: but it ſhould appear from the above, and other ſimilar incidents, that kings anciently exercifed the functions of the prieſthood.—*T.*

The ſcholiaſt of Homer informs us, (See verſe 48, laſt book of the Iliad) that it was cuſtomary amongſt the ancients, for whoever had committed an involuntary murder, to leave his country, and fly to the houſe of ſome powerful individual. There, covering himſelf, he ſate down, and entreated to be purified. No perſon has given a more full, and at the ſame time more correct account of the ceremonies of expiation, than Apollonius Rhodius.

Their viſits cauſe her troubled mind diſtreſs'd;
On downy ſeats ſhe plac'd each princely gueſt.
They round her hearth ſate motionleſs and mute;
With plaintive ſuppliants ſuch manners ſuit.
Her folded hands her bluſhing face conceal;
Deep in the ground he fix'd the murd'rous ſteel:
Nor dare they once, in equal ſorrow drown'd,
Lift their dejected eye-lids from the ground.
Circe beheld their guilt: ſhe ſaw they fled
From vengeance hanging o'er the murd'rer's head.
The holy rites, approv'd of Jove, ſhe pays:
Jove, thus appeas'd, his haſty vengeance ſtays.
Theſe rites from guilty ſtains the culprits clear,
Who lowly ſuppliant at her cell appear.

 To

tom exacted, he enquired who and whence he was, "From what part," said he, "of Phrygia, do you come? why are a you a suppliant to me? what man or woman have you slain?" "O king!" replied the stranger, "I am the son of Gordius, who was the son of Midas. My name is Adrastus[55]: unwillingly I have killed my brother, for which I am banished by my father, and rendered entirely destitute." "You come," replied Crœsus, "of a family whom I esteem

To expiate their crime, in order due,
First to her shrine a sucking-pig she drew,
Whose nipples from its birth distended stood;
Its neck she struck, and bath'd their hands in blood.
Next, with libations meet, and pray'r, she ply'd
Jove, who acquits the suppliant homicide.
Without her door a train of Naiads stand,
Administ'ring whate'er her rites demand.
Within, the flames that round the hearth arise,
Waste, as she prays, the kneaded sacrifice;
That thus the Furies' vengeful wrath might cease,
And, Jove appeas'd, dismiss them both in peace,
Whether they came to expiate the guilt
Of friends' or strangers' blood, by treach'ry spilt.

Fawkes's Apollonius Rhodius.

55 *Adrastus.*]—There is a passage in Photius relative to this Adrastus, which two learned men, Palmerius and Larcher, have understood and applied very differently. The passage is this: Photius, in his Bibliotheca, giving an account of the historical work of Ptolemæus son of Hephæstion, says thus: "He also relates, that the name of the person who, in the first book of Herodotus, is said to have been killed by Adrastus son of Gordius, was Agathon, and that it was in consequence of some dispute about a quail."

The above, and, as it should seem with greater probability, Palmerius, applies to the brother of Adrastus; Larcher understands it of the son of Crœsus.

With

I esteem my friends. My protection shall, in return, be extended to you. You shall reside in my palace, and be provided with every necessary. You will do well not to suffer your misfortune to distress you too much." Crœsus then received him into his family.

XXXVI. There appeared about this time, near Olympus in Mysia, a wild boar [56] of an extraordinary size, which, issuing from the mountain, did great injury to the Mysians. They had frequently attacked it; but their attempts to destroy it, so far from proving successful, had been attended with loss to themselves. In the extremity, therefore, of their distress, they sent to Crœsus a message of the following import: "There has appeared among us, O king! a wild boar of a most extraordinary size, injuring us much; but to destroy which all our most strenuous endeavours have proved ineffectual. We entreat you, therefore, to send to us your son, at the head of a chosen band, with a number of dogs,

With respect to the quail, some of our readers may probably thank us for informing them, that the ancients had their quail, as the moderns have their cock-fights.—*T.*

His cocks do win the battle still of mine
When it is all to nought, and his quails ever
Beat mine inhooped at odds.—*Shakespeare.*

56 *A wild boar.*]—It should seem, from the accounts of ancient authors, that the ravages of the wild boar were considered as more formidable than those of the other savage animals. The conquest of the Erymanthian boar was one of the fated labours of Hercules; and the story of the Calydonian boar is one of the most beautiful in Ovid.—*T.*

to relieve us from this formidable animal." Crœsus, remembering his dream, anſwered them thus: "Of my ſon you muſt forbear to make mention: him I cannot ſend; he is lately married, and his time and attention ſufficiently employed. But a choſen band of Lydians, hunters and dogs, ſhall attend you; and I ſhall charge them to take every poſſible means of relieving you, as ſoon as poſſible, from the attacks of the boar."

XXXVII. This anſwer of Crœſus ſatisfied the Myſians [57]; but the young man hearing of the matter, and that his father had refuſed the ſolicitations of the Myſians for him to accompany them, haſtened to the preſence of the king, and ſpoke to him as follows: "It was formerly, Sir, eſteemed, in our nation, both excellent and honourable to ſeek renown in war, or in the hunting of wild beaſts; but you now deprive me of both theſe opportunities of ſignalizing myſelf, without having reaſon to accuſe me either of cowardice or ſloth. Whenever I now am ſeen in public, how mean and contemptible ſhall I appear! How will my fellow-citizens, or my new wife, eſteem me? what can be her opinion of the man whom ſhe has married? Suffer me, then, Sir, either to proceed on this expedition, or condeſcend to convince me that the motives of your refuſal are reaſonable and ſufficient."

[57] *Satisfied the Myſians.*]—Valla, Henry Stephens, and Gronovius, in their verſions of this paſſage, had, quum non eſſent contenti. Weſſeling has taken away the negative particle.

XXXVIII.

XXXVIII. "My ſon," replied Crœſus, "I do not in any reſpect think unfavourably of your courage, or your conduct. My behaviour towards you is influenced by a viſion, which has lately warned me that your life will be ſhort, and that you muſt periſh from the wound of an iron ſpear. This has firſt of all induced me to accelerate your nuptials, and alſo to refuſe your preſence in the propoſed expedition, wiſhing, by my caution, to preſerve you at leaſt as long as I ſhall live. I eſteem you as my only ſon; for your brother, on account of his infirmity, is in a manner loſt to me."

XXXIX. "Having had ſuch a viſion," returned Atys to his father, "I can eaſily forgive your anxiety concerning me: but as you apparently miſconceive the matter, ſuffer me to explain what ſeems to have eſcaped you. The viſion, as you affirm, intimated that my death ſhould be occaſioned by the point of a ſpear; but what arms or ſpear has a wild boar, that you ſhould dread? If, indeed, it had been told you that I was to periſh by a tuſk, or ſomething of a ſimilar nature, your conduct would have been ſtrictly proper; but, as a ſpear's point is the object of your alarm, and we are not going to contend with men, I hope for your permiſſion to join this party."

XL. "Son," anſwered Crœſus, "your reaſoning, concerning my dream, has induced me to alter my opinion, and I accede to your wiſhes."

XLI. The king then ſent for Adraſtus the Phrygian; whom, on his appearing, he thus addreſſed: "I do not mean to remind you of your former calamities; but you muſt have in memory, that I relieved you in your diſtreſs, took you into my family, and ſupplied all your neceſſities. I have now, therefore, to ſolicit that return of kindneſs which my conduct claims. In this propoſed hunting excurſion, you muſt be the guardian of my ſon: preſerve him on the way from any ſecret treachery which may threaten your common ſecurity. It is conſiſtent that you ſhould go where bravery may be diſtinguiſhed, and reputation gained: valour has been the diſtinction of your family, and with perſonal vigour has deſcended to yourſelf."

XLII. "At your requeſt, O king!" replied Adraſtus, "I ſhall comply with what I ſhould otherwiſe have refuſed. It becomes not a man like myſelf, oppreſſed by ſo great a calamity, to appear among my more fortunate equals: I have never wiſhed, and I have frequently avoided it. My gratitude, in the preſent inſtance, impels me to obey your commands. I will therefore engage to accompany and guard your ſon, and promiſe, as far as my care can avail, to reſtore him to you ſafe."

XLIII. Immediately a band of youths were ſelected, the dogs of chace prepared, and the train departed. Arrived in the vicinity of Olympus, they ſought the beaſt; and having found his haunt, they ſurrounded it in a body, and attacked him with

their

their ſpears. It ſo happened, that the ſtranger Adraſtus, who had been purified for murder, directing a blow at the boar, miſſed his aim, and killed the ſon of Crœſus. Thus he was deſtroyed by the point of a ſpear, and the viſion proved to be prophetic. A meſſenger immediately haſtened to Sardis, informing Crœſus of the event which occaſioned the death of his ſon.

XLIV. Crœſus, much as he was afflicted with his domeſtic loſs, bore it the leſs patiently, becauſe it was inflicted by him whom he had himſelf purified and protected. He broke into violent complaints at his misfortune, and invoked Jupiter, the deity of expiation, in atteſtation of the injury he had received. He invoked him alſo as the guardian of hoſpitality and friendſhip [58]; of hoſpitality, becauſe, in receiving a ſtranger, he had received the murderer of his ſon; of friendſhip, becauſe the man whoſe aid he might have expected, had proved his bittereſt enemy.

58 *Guardian of hoſpitality and friendſhip.*]—Jupiter was adored under different titles, according to the place and circumſtance of his different worſhippers.—*Larcher.*

The ſky was the department of Jupiter: hence he was deemed the god of tempeſts. The following titles were given him: Pluvius, Pluvioſus, Fulgurator, Fulgurum Effector, Deſcenſor, Tonans. Other epithets were given him, relative to the wants of men, for which he was thought to provide. See Bos, Antiquities of Greece. The above obſervation is confined to the Greeks.—The epithets of the Roman Jupiter were almoſt without number; and there was hardly, as Spence obſerves, a town, or even hamlet, in Italy, that had not a Jupiter of its own.—*T.*

XLV.

XLV. Whilst his thoughts were thus occupied, the Lydians appeared with the body of his son [59]: behind followed the homicide. He advanced towards Crœsus, and, with extended hands, implored that he might suffer death upon the body of him whom he had slain. He recited his former calamities; to which was now to be added, that he was the destroyer of the man who had expiated him: he was consequently no longer fit to live. Crœsus listened to him with attention; and, altho' oppressed by his own paternal grief, he could not refuse his compassion to Adrastus; to whom he spake as follows: "My friend, I am sufficiently revenged by your voluntary condemnation of yourself [60]. You are not guilty of this event [61], for you did it without design. The offended deity, who warned me of the evil, has accomplished it." Crœsus, therefore, buried his son with the proper ceremonies: but the unfortunate descendant of Midas, who had killed his brother and his friend, retired at the dead of night

59 *Body of his son.*]—This solemn procession of the Lydians, bearing to the presence of the father the dead body of his son, followed mournfully by the person who had killed him, would, it is presumed, afford no mean subject for an historical painting. —*T.*

60 *Condemnation of yourself.*]—Diodorus Siculus relates, that it was the first intention of Crœsus to have burned Adrastus alive; but his voluntary offer to submit to death, deprecated his anger.—*T.*

61 *You are not guilty of this event.*]—See Homer, Iliad 3d, where Priam thus addresses Helen:

No crime of thine our present suff'rings draws;
Not thou, but Heav'n's disposing will, the cause.—*Pope.*

to the place where Atys was buried, and, confeſſing himſelf to be the moſt miſerable of mankind, ſlew himſelf on the tomb.

XLVI. The two years which ſucceeded the death of his ſon, were paſſed by Crœſus in extreme affliction. His grief was at length ſuſpended by the increaſing greatneſs of the Perſian empire, as well as by that of Cyrus ſon of Cambyſes, who had deprived Aſtyages, ſon of Cyaxares, of his dominions. To reſtrain the power of Perſia, before it ſhould become too great and too extenſive, was the object of his ſolicitude. Liſtening to theſe ſuggeſtions, he determined to conſult the different oracles [62] of Greece,

[62] *Oracles.*]—On the ſubject of oracles, it may not be improper, once for all, to inform the Engliſh reader, that the Apollo of Delphi was, to uſe Mr. Bayle's words, the judge without appeal; the greateſt of the heathen gods not preſerving, in relation to oracles, his advantage or ſuperiority. The oracles of Trophonius, Dodona, and Hammon, had not ſo much credit as that of Delphi, nor did they equal it either in eſteem or duration. The oracle at Abas was an oracle of Apollo; but, from the little mention that is made of it by ancient writers, it does not appear to have been held in the extremeſt veneration. At Dodona, as we deſcribe it from Montfaucon, there were ſounding kettles; from whence came the proverb of the Dodonean braſs; which, according to Menander, if a man touched but once, would continue ringing the whole day. Others ſpeak of the doves of Dodona, which ſpoke and delivered the oracles: of two doves, according to Statius, one flew to Lybia, to pronounce the oracles of Jupiter; the other ſtaid at Dodona: of which the more rational explanation is, that two females eſtabliſhed religious ceremonies at the ſame time, at Dodona, and in Lybia; for, in the ancient language of the people of Epirus, the ſame word ſignifies

Greece, and alſo that of Lybia; and for this purpoſe ſent meſſengers to Delphi, the Phocian Abas, and to Dodona: he ſent alſo to Amphiaraus, Trophonius, and the Mileſian Branchidæ. The above-mentioned are the oracles which Crœſus conſulted in Greece: he ſent alſo to the Lybian Ammon. His motive in theſe conſultations, was to form an idea of the truth of the oracles reſpectively, meaning afterwards to obtain from them a deciſive opinion concerning the propriety of an expedition againſt the Perſians.

XLVII.

ſignifies a dove and an old woman. At the ſame place alſo was an oak, or, as ſome ſay, a beech tree, hallowed by the prejudices of the people, from the remoteſt antiquity.

The oracle of Trophonius's cave, from its ſingularity, deſerves minuter mention. He, ſays Pauſanias, who deſired to conſult it, was obliged to undergo various preparatory ceremonies, which continued for ſeveral days: he was to purify himſelf by various methods, to offer ſacrifices to many different deities; he was then conducted by night to a neighbouring river, where he was anointed and waſhed; he afterwards drank of the water of forgetfulneſs, that his former cares might be buried; and of the water of remembrance, that he might forget nothing of what he was to ſee. The cave was ſurrounded by a wall; it reſembled an oven, was four cubits wide, and eight deep: it was deſcended by a ladder; and he who went down, carried with him cakes made of honey; when he was got down, he was made acquainted with futurity. For more particulars concerning this oracle, conſult Montfaucon, Voyage de Jeune Anacharſis, in which the different deſcriptions of antiquity, concerning this and other oracles, are collected and methodized. See alſo Van Dale. Of the above a claſſical and correct deſcription may alſo be found in Glover's Athenaid.

Amphiaraus was one of the ſeven warriors who fought againſt Thebes: he performed on that occaſion the functions of a prieſt, and

XLVII. He took this method of proving the truth of their different communications. He computed with his Lydian meſſengers, that each ſhould conſult the different oracles on the hundredth day of their departure from Sardis, and reſpectively aſk what Crœſus the ſon of Alyattes was doing: they were to write down, and communicate to Crœſus, the reply of each particular oracle [63]. Of the oracular anſwers in general we have no account remaining; but the Lydians had no ſooner entered the temple of Delphi, and propoſed their queſ-

and was ſuppoſed, on that account, to communicate oracles after his death. They who conſulted him, were to abſtain from wine for three days, and from all nouriſhment for twenty-four hours. They then ſacrificed a ram before his ſtatue, upon the ſkin of which, ſpread in the veſtibule, they retired themſelves to ſleep. The deity was ſuppoſed to appear to them in a viſion, and anſwer their queſtions.

The temple of Branchidæ was afterwards, according to Pliny, named the temple of Didymean Apollo. It was burned by Xerxes, but afterwards rebuilt with ſuch extraordinary magnificence, that, according to Vitruvius, it was one of the four edifices which rendered the names of their architects immortal. Some account may be found of this temple in Chiſhull's Aſiatic Antiquities.—*T.*

63 *Reply of each particular oracle.*]—Lucian makes Jupiter complain of the great trouble the deities undergo on account of mankind. "As for Apollo," ſays he, "he has undertaken a troubleſome office: he is obliged to be at Delphi this minute, at Colophon the next, here at Delos, there at Branchidæ, juſt as his miniſters chooſe to require him: not to mention the tricks which are played to make trial of his ſagacity, when people boil together the fleſh of a lamb and a tortoiſe; ſo that if he had not had a very acute noſe, Crœſus would have gone away, and abuſed him."—*T.*

tions,

tions, than the Pythian [64] anſwered thus, in heroic verſe:

I count the ſand, I meaſure out the ſea;
The ſilent and the dumb are heard by me:
E'en now the odours to my ſenſe that riſe,
A tortoiſe boiling with a lamb ſupplies,
Where braſs below and braſs above it lies.

XLVIII. They wrote down the communication of the Pythian, and returned to Sardis. Of the anſwers which his other meſſengers brought with them on their return, Crœſus found none which were ſatisfactory. But a fervour of gratitude and piety was excited in him, as ſoon as he was informed of the reply of the Pythian; and he exclaimed, without reſerve, that there was no true oracle but at Delphi, for this alone had explained his employment at the ſtipulated time. It ſeems, that on the day appointed for his ſervants to conſult the different oracles, determining to do what it would be equally difficult to diſcover or explain, he had cut in pieces a tortoiſe and a lamb, and boiled them together in a covered veſſel of braſs.

[64] *Pythian.*]—The Pythian Apollo, if we may credit the Greeks themſelves, was not always upon the beſt terms with the Muſes.—*Lowth on the poetry of the Hebrews.*

Van Dale, in his book de Oraculis, obſerves, that at Delphi the prieſteſs had prieſts, prophets, and poets, to take down and explain and mend her gibberiſh: which ſerved to juſtify Apollo from the imputation of making bad verſes; for, if they were defective, the fault was laid upon the amanuenſis.—*Jortin.*

XLIX. We have before related what was the anſwer of the Delphic oracle to Crœſus: what reply the Lydians received from Amphiaraus, after the uſual religious ceremonies, I am not able to affirm; of this it is only aſſerted, that its anſwer was ſatisfactory to Crœſus.

L. Crœſus, after theſe things, determined to conciliate the divinity of Delphi, by a great and magnificent ſacrifice. He offered up three thouſand choſen victims [65]; he collected a great number of couches decorated with gold and ſilver [66], many goblets of gold, and veſts of purple; all theſe he conſumed together upon one immenſe pile, thinking by theſe means to render the deity more auſpicious to his hopes: he perſuaded his ſubjects alſo to offer up, in like manner, the proper objects for ſacrifice they reſpectively poſſeſſed. As, at the concluſion of the above ceremony, a conſiderable quantity of

65 *Three thouſand choſen victims.*]—This aſtoniſhing profuſion was perfectly conſiſtent with the genius of a ſuperſtitious people. Theodoret reproaches the Greeks with their ſacrifices of hundreds and of thouſands.—*Larcher.*

66 *Couches decorated with gold and ſilver.*]—Prodigal as the munificence of Crœſus appears to have been on this occaſion, the funeral pile of the Emperor Severus, as deſcribed by Herodian, was neither leſs ſplendid nor leſs coſtly. He tells us, that there was not a province, city, or grandee throughout the wide circuit of the Roman empire, which did not contribute to decorate this ſuperb edifice. When the whole was completed, after many days of preparatory ceremonies, the next ſucceſſor to the empire, with a torch, ſet fire to the pile, and in a little time every thing was conſumed.—*T.*

gold had run together, he formed of it a number of tiles. The larger of theſe were ſix palms long, the ſmaller three, but none of them was leſs than a palm in thickneſs, and they were one hundred and ſeventeen in number: four were of the pureſt gold, weighing each one talent and a half; the reſt were of inferior quality, but of the weight of two talents. He conſtructed alſo a lion of pure gold [67], which weighed ten talents. It was originally placed at the Delphian temple, on the above gold tiles; but when this edifice was burned, it fell from its place, and now ſtands in the Corinthian treaſury: it loſt, however, by the fire, three talents and a half of its former weight.

LI. Crœſus, moreover, ſent to Delphi two large ciſterns, one of gold, and one of ſilver: that of gold was placed on the right hand in the veſtibule of the temple; the ſilver one on the left. Theſe alſo were removed when the temple was conſumed by fire: the golden goblet weighed eight talents and a half and twelve minæ, and was afterwards placed in the Clazomenian treaſury: that of ſilver is capable of holding ſix hundred amphoræ; it is placed at the entrance of the temple, and uſed by the inhabitants of Delphi in their Theophanian feſtival: they aſſert it to have been the work of Theodorus of

[67] *Lion of pure gold.*]—Theſe tiles, this lion, and the ſtatue of the breadmaker of Crœſus, were, all of them, at a ſubſequent period, ſeized by the Phocians, to defray the expences of the holy war.—*Larcher.*

Samos[68]; to which opinion, as it is evidently the production of no mean artist, I am inclined to accede. The Corinthian treasury also possesses four silver casks, which were sent by Crœsus, in addition to the above, to Delphi. His munificence did not yet cease: he presented also two basons, one of gold, another of silver. An inscription on that of gold, asserts it to have been the gift of the Lacedæmonians; but it is not true, for this also was the gift of Crœsus. To gratify the Lacedæmonians, a certain Delphian wrote this inscription: although I am able, I do not think proper to disclose his name[69]. The boy through whose hand the water flows, was given by the Lacedæmonians; the basons undoubtedly were not.—Many other smaller presents accompanied these; among which were some silver dishes, and the figure of a woman in gold, three cubits high, who, according to the Delphians, was the person who made the bread for the family of Crœsus[70]. This

68 *Theodorus of Samos.*]—He was the first statuary on record. The following mention is made of him by Pliny:—Theodorus, who constructed the labyrinth at Samos, made a cast of himself in brass, which, independent of its being a perfect likeness, was an extraordinary effort of genius. He had in his right hand a file; with three fingers of his left he held a carriage drawn by four horses; the carriage, the horses, and the driver, were so minute, that the whole was covered by the wings of a fly.—*T.*

69 *I do not think proper to disclose his name.*]—If Ptolemæus may be credited in Photius, his name was Æthus.—*T.*

70 *Made the bread for the family of Crœsus.*]—Crœsus, says Plutarch, honoured the woman who made his bread, with a statue of gold, from an honest emotion of gratitude. Alyattes, the father of Crœsus, married a second wife, by whom he had other children.

This prince, besides all that we have enumerated, consecrated at Delphi his wife's necklaces and girdles.

LII. To Amphiaraus, having heard of his valour and misfortunes, he sent a shield of solid gold, with a strong spear made entirely of gold, both shaft and head. These were all, within my memory, preserved at Thebes, in the temple of the Ismenian Apollo.

LIII. The Lydians, who were entrusted with the care of these presents, were directed to enquire whether Crœsus might auspiciously undertake an expedition against the Persians, and whether he should procure any confederate assistance. On their arrival at the destined places, they deposited their presents, and made their enquiries of the oracles precisely in the following terms:—"Crœsus, sovereign of Lydia, and of various nations, esteems these the only genuine oracles; in return for the sagacity which has marked your declarations, he sends these proofs of his liberality: he finally desires to know whether he may proceed against the Persians, and whether he shall require the assistance of any allies." The answers of the oracles tended to the same pur-

children. This woman wished to remove Crœsus out of the way, and gave the female baker a dose of poison, charging her to put it into the bread which she made for Crœsus. The woman informed Crœsus of this, and gave the poisoned bread to the queen's children. By these means Crœsus succeeded his father; and acknowledged the fidelity of the woman, by thus making the god himself an evidence of his gratitude.—*T.*

pose; both of them assuring Crœsus, that if he prosecuted a war with Persia, he should overthrow a mighty empire[71]; and both recommending him to form an alliance with those whom he should find to be the most powerful states of Greece.

LIV. The report of these communications transported Crœsus with excess of joy: elated with the idea of becoming the conqueror of Cyrus, he sent again to Delphi, enquired the number of inhabitants there, and presented each with two golden staters. In acknowledgment for this repeated liberality, the Delphians assigned to Crœsus and the Lydians the privilege of first consulting the oracle, in preference to other nations; a distinguished seat in their temple; together with the immutable right, to such of them as pleased to accept it, of being inrolled among the citizens of Delphi.

LV. After the above-mentioned marks of his munificence to the Delphians, Crœsus consulted their oracle a third time. His experience of its veracity increased the ardour of his curiosity: he was now anxious to be informed, whether his power

[71] *Overthrow a mighty empire.*]—It appears, that the very words of the oracle must have been here originally: they are preserved by Suidas and others, and are these:

Κροισος Αλυν διαβας μεγαλην αρχην καταλυσει:

which Cicero renders—

Crœsus, Halym penetrans, magnam pervertet opum vim.

De Div. xi. 56.

By crossing Halys, Crœsus will destroy a mighty power.—*T.*

would ever ſuffer diminution. The following was the anſwer of the Pythian:

When o'er the Medes a mule ſhall ſit on high,
O'er pebbly Hermus [72] then, ſoft Lydian, fly;
Fly with all haſte; for ſafety ſcorn thy fame,
Nor ſcruple to deſerve a coward's name.

LVI. When the above verſes were communicated to Crœſus, he was more delighted than ever; confident that a mule would never be ſovereign of the Medes, and that conſequently he could have nothing to fear for himſelf or his poſterity. His firſt object was to diſcover which were the moſt powerful of the Grecian ſtates, and to obtain their alliance. The Lacedæmonians of Doric, and the Athenians of Ionian origin, ſeemed to claim his diſtinguiſhed preference. Theſe nations, always eminent, were formerly known by the appellation of Pelaſgians and Hellenians [73]. The former had never changed their place of reſidence; the latter often. Under the reign of Deucalion, the Hellenians poſſeſſed the region of Phthiotis; but under Dorus the ſon of Hellenus, they inhabited the coun-

[72] *O'er pebbly Hermus*, &c.]—It has been uſually tranſlated *Fly to Hermus*: but παρ Ερμου certainly means *trans Hermum*; and when ſaid to a Lydian, implies, that he ſhould deſert his country.—*T.*

[73] *Pelaſgians and Hellenians.*]—On this paſſage Mr. Bryant remarks, that the whole is exceedingly confuſed, and that by it one would imagine Herodotus excluded the Athenians from being Pelaſgic. See Bryant's Mythology, vol. iii. 397.—*T.*

try called Iſtiæotis, which borders upon Oſſa and Olympus. They were driven from hence by the Cadmæans, and fixed themſelves in Macednum, near mount Pindus: migrating from hence to Dryopis, and afterwards to the Peloponneſe, they were known by the name of Dorians.

LVII. What language the Pelaſgians uſed, I cannot poſitively affirm: ſome probable concluſion may perhaps be formed, by attending to the dialect of the remnant of the Pelaſgians, who now inhabit Creſtona [74] beyond the Tyrrhenians, but who formerly dwelt in the country now called Theſſaliotis, and were neighbours to thoſe whom we at preſent name Dorians. Conſidering theſe with the above, who founded the cities of Placia and Scylace on the Helleſpont, but once lived near the Athenians, together with the people of other Pelaſgian towns who have ſince changed their names, we are upon the whole juſtified in our opinion, that they formerly ſpoke a barbarous language. The Athenians, therefore, who were alſo of Pelaſgian origin, muſt neceſſarily, when they came amongſt the Hellenians, have learned their language. It is obſervable, that the inhabitants of Creſtona and Placia ſpeak in the ſame tongue, but are neither of them underſtood by the people about them. Theſe circumſtances

[74] *Creſtona.*]—It appears that Count Caylus has confounded Creſtona of Thrace with Crotona of Magna Grecia; but as he has adduced no argument in proof of his opinion, I do not conſider it of any importance.—*Larcher.*

 induce

induce us to believe, that their language has experienced no change.

LVIII. I am alſo of opinion, that the Hellenian tongue is not at all altered. When firſt they ſeparated themſelves from the Pelaſgians, they were neither numerous nor powerful. They have ſince progreſſively increaſed; having incorporated many nations, Barbarians and others, with their own. The Pelaſgians have always avoided this mode of increaſing their importance; which may be one reaſon, probably, why they never have emerged from their original and barbarous condition.

LIX. Of theſe nations, Crœſus had received information, that Athens ſuffered much from the oppreſſion of Piſiſtratus the ſon of Hippocrates, who at this time poſſeſſed there the ſupreme authority. The father of this man, when he was formerly a private ſpectator of the Olympic games, beheld a wonderful prodigy: Having ſacrificed a victim, the brazen veſſels, which were filled with the fleſh and with water, boiled up and overflowed without the intervention of fire. Chilon the Lacedæmonian, who was an accidental witneſs of the fact, adviſed Hippocrates, firſt of all, not to marry a woman likely to produce him children: ſecondly, if he was already married, to repudiate his wife; but if he had then a ſon, by all means to expoſe him. He who received this counſel, was by no means diſpoſed to follow it, and had afterwards this ſon Piſiſtratus. A tumult happened betwixt thoſe who

dwelt

dwelt on the ſea-coaſt, and thoſe who inhabited the plains: of the former, Megacles the ſon of Alcmeon was leader; Lycurgus, ſon of Ariſtolaides, was at the head of the latter. Piſiſtratus took this opportunity of accompliſhing the views of his ambition. Under pretence of defending thoſe of the mountains, he aſſembled ſome factious adherents, and put in practice the following ſtratagem: He not only wounded himſelf, but his mules [75], which he drove into the forum, affecting to have made his eſcape from the enemy, who had attacked him in a country excurſion. He claimed, therefore, the protection of the people, in return for the ſervices which he had performed in his command againſt the Megarians [76], by his capture of Niſæa, and by other memorable exploits. The Athenians were deluded by his artifice, and aſſigned ſome of their choſen citizens as his guard [77], armed with clubs, inſtead of ſpears.

75 *Wounded himſelf, but his mules.*]—Ulyſſes, Zopyrus, and others, availed themſelves of ſimilar artifices for the advantage of their country; but Piſiſtratus practiſed his, to depreſs and enſlave his fellow-citizens. This occaſioned Solon to ſay to him, "Son of Hippocrates, you ill apply the ſtratagem of Homer's Ulyſſes: he wounded his body, to delude the public enemies; you wound your's, to beguile your countrymen."—*Larcher.*

76 *Command againſt the Megarians.*]—The particulars of this affair are related by Plutarch, in his Life of Solon.—*T.*

77 *As his guard.*]—The people being aſſembled to deliberate on the ambuſcade which Piſiſtratus pretended was concerted againſt him, aſſigned him fifty guards for the ſecurity of his perſon. Ariſton propoſed the decree; but when it was once paſſed, the people acquieſced in his taking juſt as many guards as he thought proper. Solon, in a letter to Epemenides, pre-

ſerved

ſpears. Theſe ſeconded the purpoſe of Piſiſtratus, and ſeized the citadel. He thus obtained the ſupreme power; but he neither changed the magiſtrates nor altered the laws: he ſuffered every thing to be conducted in its ordinary courſe; and his government was alike honourable to himſelf [78] and uſeful to the city. The factions of Megacles and Lycurgus afterwards united, and expelled him from Athens.

LX. By theſe means Piſiſtratus became for the firſt time maſter of Athens, and obtained an authority which was far from being ſecure.

The parties, however, which effected his removal, preſently diſagreed. Megacles, being hard preſſed by his opponent, ſent propoſals to Piſiſtratus, offering him the ſupreme power, on condition of his marrying his daughter. Piſiſtratus acceded to the terms; and a method was concerted to accompliſh his return, which to me ſeems exceedingly prepoſterous. The Grecians, from the remoteſt times, were diſtinguiſhed above the Barba-

ſerved in Diogenes Laertius, but which ſeems to be ſpurious, ſays, that Piſiſtratus required four hundred guards; which, notwithſtanding Solon's remonſtrances, were granted him. Polyænus ſays they aſſigned him three hundred.—*Larcher.*

[78] *Honourable to himſelf.*]—Piſiſtratus, ſays Plutarch, was not only obſervant of the laws of Solon himſelf, but obliged his adherents to be ſo too. Whilſt in the enjoyment of the ſupreme authority, he was ſummoned before the Areopagus, to anſwer for the crime of murder. He appeared with modeſty to plead his cauſe. His accuſer did not think proper to appear. The ſame fact is related by Ariſtotle.—*Larcher.*

rians

rians by their acutenefs; and the Athenians, upon whom this trick was played, were of all the Greeks the moft eminent for their fagacity. There was a Pæanieań woman, whofe name was Phya[79]; fhe wanted but three digits of being four cubits high, and was, moreover, uncommonly beautiful. She was dreffed in a fuit of armour, placed in a chariot, and decorated with the greateft imaginable fplendour. She was conducted towards the city; heralds were fent before, who, as foon as they arrived within the walls of Athens, were inftructed to exclaim aloud,—"Athenians, receive Pififtratus again, and with good-will; he is the favourite of Minerva, and the goddefs herfelf comes to conduct him to her citadel." The rumour foon fpread amongft the multitude, that Minerva was bringing back Pififtratus. Thofe in the city being told that this woman was their goddefs, proftrated themfelves before her, and admitted Pififtratus[80].

LXI. By thefe means the fon of Hippocrates recovered his authority, and fulfilled the terms of his agreement with Megacles, by marrying his

79 *Phya.*]—There is here great appearance of fiction. Phya means air, or perfonal courage.

Ειδος τε, μεγεθος τε, φυην τ' αγχιστα εοικως.

Il. 2d. *T.*

80 *Admitted Pififtratus.*]—The ambitious in all ages have made religion an inftrument of their defigns, and the people, naturally fuperftitious and weak, have always been the dupes. —*Larcher.*

daughter,

daughter[81]. But, as he had already ſons grown up, and as the Alcmæonides were ſtigmatized by ſome imputed contamination[82], to avoid having children by this marriage, he refuſed all natural communication with his wife. This incident, which the woman for a certain time concealed, ſhe afterwards revealed to her mother, in conſequence, perhaps, of her enquiries. The father was ſoon informed of it, who, exaſperated by the affront, forgot his ancient reſentments, and entered into a league with thoſe whom he had formerly oppoſed. Piſiſtratus, ſeeing the danger which menaced him, haſtily left the country, and, retiring to Eretria[83], there deliberated with his ſons concerning their future conduct. The ſentiments of Hippias, which were for attempting the recovery of their dignity, prevailed. They met with no difficulty in procuring aſſiſtance from the neighbouring ſtates, amongſt whom a prejudice in their favour generally prevailed. Many cities aſſiſted them largely with money; but the Thebans were particularly liberal. Not to protract the narration, every preparation was

81 *By marrying his daughter.*]—Her name was Cæſyra, as appears from the Scholiaſt to the Nubes of Ariſtophanes.—*Palmerius.*

82 *Imputed contamination.*]—Megacles, who was Archon in the time of the conſpiracy of Cylon, put the conſpirators to death, at the foot of the altars where they had taken refuge. All thoſe who had any concern in the perpetration of murder were conſidered as deteſtable.—*Larcher.*

83 *Retiring to Eretria.*]—There were two places of this name, one in Theſſaly, the other in Eubœa: Piſiſtratus retired to the latter.

made

made to facilitate their return. A band of Argive mercenaries came from the Peloponnese; and an inhabitant of Naxos, named Lygdamis, gave new alacrity to their proceedings, by his unsolicited assistance both with money and with troops.

LXII. After an absence of eleven years, they advanced to Attica from Eretria, and seized on Marathon, in the vicinity of which they encamped. They were soon visited by throngs of factious citizens [84] from Athens, and by all those who preferred tyranny to freedom. Their number was thus soon and considerably increased. Whilst Pisistratus was providing himself with money, and even when he was stationed at Marathon, the Athenians of the city appeared to be under no alarm: but when they heard that he had left his post, and was advancing towards them, they began to assemble their forces, and to think of obstructing his return. Pisistratus

84. *Factious citizens.*]—The whole account given by Herodotus, of the conduct of Pisistratus and his party, bears no small resemblance to many circumstances of the Catilinarian conspirators, as described by Cicero and others. Two or three instances are nevertheless recorded, of the moderation of Pisistratus, which well deserve our praise. His daughter assisted at some religious festival: a young man, who violently loved her, embraced her publicly, and afterwards endeavoured to carry her off. His friends excited him to vengeance. "If," says he in reply, "we hate those who love us, what shall we do to those who hate us?"—Some young men, in a drunken frolic, insulted his wife. The next day they came in tears, to solicit forgiveness. "You must have been mistaken," said Pisistratus; "my wife did not go abroad yesterday."—*T.*

continued to approach, with his men in one collected body: he halted at the temple of the Pallenian Minerva, opposite to which he fixed his camp. Whilst he remained in this situation, Amphylitus, a priest of Acarnania, approached him, and, as if by divine inspiration[85], thus addressed him in heroic verse:

The cast is made; the net secures the way;
And night's pale gleams will bring the scaly prey.

LXIII. Pisistratus considered the declaration as prophetic, and prepared his troops accordingly. The Athenians of the city were then engaged at their dinner; after which, they retired to the amusement of dice, or to sleep[86]. The party of Pisistratus, then making the attack, soon compelled them to fly. Pisistratus, in the course of the pursuit, put in execution the following sagacious stratagem, to

85 *Divine inspiration.*]—Upon this passage Mr. Bryant has some observations, much too abstruse for our purpose, but well worthy the consideration of the curious. See his Mythology, vol. i. page 259.—*T.*

86 *To sleep.*]—In all the warmer climates of the globe, the custom of sleeping after dinner is invariably preserved. It appears from modern travellers, that many of the present inhabitants of Athens have their houses flat-roofed, and decorated with arbours, in which they sleep at noon. We are informed, as well by Herodotus, as by Demosthenes, Theophrastus, and Xenophon, that, anciently, the Athenians in general, as well citizens as soldiers, took only two repasts in the day. The meaner sort were satisfied with one, which some took at noon, others at sunset.

to continue their confusion, and prevent their rallying: he placed his sons on horseback, and directed them to overtake the fugitives; they were commissioned to bid them all remove their apprehensions, and pursue their accustomed employments.

LXIV. The Athenians took him at his word, and Pisistratus thus became a third time master of Athens [87]. He by no means neglected to secure his authority, by retaining many confederate troops, and providing pecuniary resources, partly from Attica itself, and partly from the river Strymon [88]. The children of those citizens, who, instead of retreating from his arms, had opposed his progress, he

The following passage from Horace cannot fail of being interesting: it not only proves the intimacy which prevailed betwixt Mæcenas, Virgil, and Horace, but it satisfies us, that at a much later period, and in the most refined state of the Roman empire, the mode of spending the time after dinner was similar to that here mentioned:

Lusum it Mæcenas, dormitum ego Virgiliusque.

Sermon. lib. i. 5.

[87] *Third time master of Athens.*]—Pisistratus, tyrant as he was, loved letters, and favoured those who cultivated them. He it was who first collected Homer's works, and presented the public with the Iliad and Odyssey in their present form.—*Bellanger.*

Cicero, in one of his letters to Atticus, subsequent to the battle of Pharsalia, thus expresses himself: "We are not yet certain whether we shall groan under a Phalaris, or enjoy ourselves under a Pisistratus."—*T.*

[88] *River Strymon.*]—This river is very celebrated in classical story: there are few of the ancient writers who have not made mention of it; at the present day it is called, at that part where it empties itself into the Ægean, Golfo di Contessa. Upon the

he took as hoſtages, and ſent to the iſland of Naxos; which place he had before ſubdued, and given up to Lygdamis. In compliance alſo with an oracular injunction, he purified Delos [89]: all the dead bodies, which lay within a certain diſtance of the temple, were, by his orders, dug up, and removed to another part of the iſland. By the death of ſome of the Athenians in battle, and by the flight of others with the Alcmæonides, he remained in undiſturbed poſſeſſion of the ſupreme authority.

LXV. Such was the intelligence which Crœſus received concerning the ſituation of Athens. With reſpect to the Lacedæmonians, after ſuffering many important defeats, they had finally vanquiſhed the Tegeans. Whilſt Sparta was under the government of Leon and Hegeſicles, the Lacedæmonians, ſucceſsful in other conteſts, had been inferior to the Tegeans alone: of all the Grecian ſtates, they had formerly the worſt laws; bad with regard to their own internal government, and to ſtrangers intolerable. They obtained good laws, by means of the

the banks of this river, Virgil beautifully deſcribes Orpheus to have lamented his Eurydice. Amongſt the other rivers memorable in antiquity for their production of gold, were the Pactolus, Hermus, Ganges, Tagus, Iber, Indus, and Arimaſpus.—*T.*

[89] *Purified Delos.*]—Montfaucon, but without telling us his authority, ſays, that the whole iſland of Delos was conſecrated by the birth of Apollo and Diana, and that it was not allowable to bury a dead body in any part of it. It ſhould ſeem from the paſſage before us, that this muſt be underſtood with ſome reſtriction.—*T.*

following

following circumstance: Lycurgus [90], a man of distinguished character at Sparta, happened to visit the Delphic oracle. As soon as he had entered the vestibule, the Pythian exclaimed aloud,

Thou com'st, Lycurgus, to this honour'd shrine,
Favour'd by Jove, and ev'ry pow'r divine.
Or god or mortal! how shall I decide?
Doubtless to heav'n most dear and most allied.

It is farther asserted by some, that the priestess dictated to him those institutes which are now observed at Sparta: but the Lacedæmonians themselves affirm, that Lycurgus brought them from Crete while he was guardian to his nephew Leobotas king of Sparta. In consequence of this trust, having obtained the direction of the legislature, he made a total change in the constitution, and took effectual care to secure a strict observance [91] of whatever he introduced: he new-modelled the military code, appointing the Enomotiæ, the Triacades, and

90 *Lycurgus.*]—For an account of the life and character of Lycurgus, we refer the reader, once for all, to Plutarch. His institutes are admirably collected and described by the Abbé Barthelemy, in his Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis, vol. iv. 110. —*T.*

91 *Strict observance.*]—There were some Lacedæmonians who, deeming the laws of Lycurgus too severe, chose rather to leave their country than submit to them. These passed over to the Sabines in Italy; and when these people were incorporated with the Romans, communicated to them a portion of their Lacedæmonian manners.—*Larcher.*

the Syssitia; he instituted also the Ephori [92] and the senate.

LXVI. The manners of the people became thus more polished and improved: they, after his death, revered Lycurgus as a divinity, and erected a sacred edifice

[92] *Ephori (inspectors.)*—Of the Enomotiæ and Triacades we have been able to find no account sufficiently perspicuous to satisfy ourselves, or inform the reader: that of Cragius is perhaps the best. Larcher has a long and elaborate note upon the subject, in which he says, that if any person be able to remove the obscurity in which the subject is involved, it must be the Abbé Barthelemy, to whose study and deliberation it must of necessity occur in his intended work upon Greece. That work has since appeared; but we find in it little mention of the Enomotiæ, &c.

The following account of the Ephori, as collected and compressed from the ancient Greek writers, we give from the Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis:

"Aristotle, Plutarch, Cicero, Valerius Maximus, and Dion Chrysostom, were of opinion, that the Ephori were first instituted by Theopompus, who reigned almost a hundred years after the time of Lycurgus. Herodotus, Plato, and another ancient author named Satyrus, ascribe the institution to Lycurgus. The Ephori were an intermediate body betwixt the kings and the senate. They were called Ephori, or inspectors, because their attention was extended to every part of the machine of government. They were five in number; and, to prevent any abuse of their authority, they were chosen annually by the people, the defenders of whose rights they were. They superintended the education of the youth. Every day they appeared in public, to decide causes, to arbitrate differences, and to prevent the introduction of any thing which might tend to the corruption of youth. They could oblige magistrates to render an account of their administration; they might even suspend them from their functions, and drag them to prison. The kings themselves were compelled to obey the third summons to appear before the Ephori

edifice to his memory [93]. From this period, having a good and populous territory, they rapidly rose to prosperity and power. Dissatisfied with the languor and inactivity of peace, and conceiving themselves in all respects superior to the Tegeans, they sent to consult the oracle concerning the entire conquest of Arcadia. The Pythian thus answered them:

Ask ye Arcadia? 'tis a bold demand;
A rough and hardy race defend the land.
Repuls'd by them, one only boon you gain,
With frequent foot to dance on Tegea's plain,
And o'er her fields the meas'ring-cord to strain.

Ephori and answer for any imputed fault. The whole executive power was vested in their hands: they received foreign ambassadors, levied troops, and gave the general his orders, whom they could recal at pleasure. So many privileges secured them a veneration, which they justified from the rewards they bestowed on merit, by their attachment to ancient maxims, and by the firmness with which, on several occasions, they broke the force of conspiracies, which menaced the tranquillity of the state."—*T.*

93 *To his memory.*]—The Lacedæmonians having bound themselves by an oath not to abrogate any of the laws of Lycurgus before his return to Sparta, the legislator went to consult the oracle at Sparta. He was told by the Pythian, that Sparta would be happy, as long as his laws were observed. Upon this he resolved to return no more, that he might thus be secure of the observance of these institutions, to which they were so solemnly bound: he went to Crisa, and there slew himself. The Lacedæmonians, hearing of this, in testimony of his former virtue, as well as of that which he discovered in his death, erected to him a temple, with an altar, at which they annually offered sacrifice to his honour, as to a hero. The above fact is mentioned both by Pausanias and Plutarch.—*Larcher.*

No ſooner had the Lacedæmonians received this reply, than, leaving the other parts of Arcadia unmoleſted, they proceeded to attack the Tegeans, carrying a quantity of fetters with them. They relied upon the evaſive declaration of the oracle, and imagined that they ſhould infallibly reduce the Tegeans to ſervitude. They engaged them, and were defeated[94]: as many as were taken captive, were loaded with the fetters which themſelves had brought, and thus employed in laborious ſervice in the fields of the Tegeans. Theſe chains were preſerved, even in my remembrance, in Tegea, hung round the temple of the Alean Minerva[95].

LXVII. In the origin of their conteſts with the Tegeans, they were uniformly unſucceſsful; but in the time of Crœſus, when Anaxandrides and Ariſton

[94] *Were defeated.*]—This incident happened during the reign of Charillus. The women of Tegea took up arms, and, placing themſelves in ambuſcade at the foot of mount Phylactris, they ruſhed upon the Lacedæmonians, who were already engaged with the Tegeans, and put them to flight. The above is from Pauſanias. *Larcher.*—Polyænus relates the ſame fact.

[95] *Temple of the Alean Minerva.*]—This cuſtom of ſuſpending in ſacred buildings the ſpoils taken from the enemy, commencing in the moſt remote and barbarous ages, has been continued to the preſent period. See Samuel, book ii. chap. 8. "And David took the ſhields of gold which were on the ſervants of Hadadezer, and brought them to Jeruſalem; which king David did dedicate unto the Lord, with the ſilver and gold of all nations which he ſubdued."

Theſe fetters taken from the Lacedæmonians were ſeen alſo in this temple in the time of Pauſanias.—It is uſual alſo with the moderns, to ſuſpend in churches the colours taken from the enemy.—*T.*

had

had the government of Sparta, they experienced a favourable change of fortune; which is thus to be explained:

Having repeatedly been defeated by the Tegeans, they ſent to conſult the Delphic oracle, what particular deity they had to appeaſe, to become victorious over their adverſaries. The Pythian aſſured them of ſucceſs, if they brought back the body of Oreſtes ſon of Agamemnon. Unable to diſcover his tomb, they ſent a ſecond time, to enquire concerning the place of his interment. The following was the oracular communication:

A plain [96] within th' Arcadian land I know,
Where double winds with forc'd exertion blow,
Where form to form with mutual ſtrength replies,
And ill by other ills ſupported lies:
That earth contains the great Atrides' ſon;
Take him, and conquer: Tegea then is won.

After the above, the ſearch for the body was without intermiſſion continued: it was at length diſcovered by Lichas [97], one of thoſe Spartans diſtinguiſhed by the name of Agathoërgoi; which title was uſually conferred, after a long period of ſervice

[96] *A plain, &c.*]—Επιταρροθος is ſingularly uſed here: it means, I preſume, "then you may have to defend Tegea, having by victory become proprietor of it."—*T.*

[97] *Diſcovered by Lichas.*]—In honour of this Lichas the Lacedæmonians ſtruck a medal: on one ſide was a head of Hercules; on the reverſe, a head with a long beard, and a ſingular ornament.—*Larcher.*

 among

among the cavalry. Of these citizens, five were every year permitted to retire; but were expected, during the first year of their discharge, to visit different countries, on the business of the public.

LXVIII. Lichas, when in this situation, made the wished-for discovery, partly by good fortune, and partly by his own sagacity. They had at this time a commercial intercourse with the Tegeans; and Lichas happening to visit a smith at his forge, observed with particular curiosity the process of working the iron. The man took notice of his attention, and desisted from his labour. "Stranger of Sparta," said he, "you seem to admire the art which you contemplate; but how much more would your wonder be excited, if you knew all that I am able to communicate! Near this place, as I was sinking a well, I found a coffin seven cubits long: I never believed that men were formerly of larger dimensions than at present[98]; but when I opened it,

[98] *Larger dimensions than at present.*]—Upon this subject of the degeneracy of the human race, whoever wishes to see what the greatest ingenuity can urge, will receive no small entertainment from the works of Lord Monboddo. If in the time of Herodotus this seemed matter of complaint, what conclusions must an advocate of this theory draw concerning the stature of his brethren in the progress of an equal number of succeeding centuries!—*T.*

In the perusal of history, traditions are to be found, of a pretended race of giants in every country of the globe, and even among the savages of Canada. Bones of an extraordinary size, found in different regions, have obtained such opinions credit. Some of these, in the time of Augustus, were exhibited at Caprea, formerly the resort of many savage and monstrous animals: these,

it [99], I discovered a body equal in length to the coffin; I correctly measured it, and placed it where I found it." Lichas, after hearing his relation, was induced to believe, that this might be the body of Orestes, concerning which the oracle had spoken. He was farther persuaded, when he recollected, that the bellows of the smith might intimate the two winds; the anvil and the hammer might express one form opposing another; the iron, also, which was beaten, might signify ill succeeding ill, rightly conceiving that the use of iron operated to the injury of mankind. With these ideas in his mind, he returned to Sparta, and related the matter to his countrymen; who immediately, under pretence of some imputed crime, sent him into banishment. He returned to Tegea, told his misfortune to the smith, and hired of him the ground, which he at first refused positively to part with. He resided there for a certain space of time, when, digging up the body, he collected the bones, and returned with

these, it was pretended, were the bones of those giants who had fought against the gods. In 1613, they shewed through Europe, the bones of the giant Teutobachus: unluckily, a naturalist proved them to be the bones of an elephant.—*Larcher.*

99 *Opened it.*]—It may be asked how Orestes, who neither reigned nor resided at Tegea, could possibly be buried there?—Strabo, in general terms, informs us, that he died in Arcadia, whilst conducting an Æolian colony. Stephen of Byzantium is more precise: he says, that Orestes, being bitten by a viper, died at a place called Orestium. His body was doubtless carried to Tegeum, which is at no great distance, as he was descended, by his grandmother Aerope, from Tegeates the founder of Tegea.—*Larcher.*

them to Sparta. The Lacedæmonians had previously obtained possession of a great part of the Peloponnese; and, after the above-mentioned event, their contests with the Tegeans were attended with uninterrupted success.

LXIX. Crœsus was duly informed of all these circumstances: he accordingly sent messengers to Sparta with presents, at the same time directing them to form an offensive alliance with the people. They delivered their message in these terms: "Crœsus, sovereign of Lydia, and of various nations, thus addresses himself to Sparta:—I am directed by the oracles to form a Grecian alliance; and, as I know you to be pre-eminent above all the states of Greece, I, without collusion of any kind, desire to become your friend and ally." The Lacedæmonians having heard of the oracular declaration to Crœsus, were rejoiced at his distinction in their favour, and instantly acceded to his proposed terms of confederacy. It is to be observed, that Crœsus had formerly rendered kindness to the Lacedæmonians: they had sent to Sardis to purchase some gold for the purpose of erecting the statue of Apollo, which is still to be seen at mount Thornax; Crœsus presented them with all they wanted.

LXX. Influenced by this consideration, as well as by his decided partiality to them, they entered into all his views: they declared themselves ready to give such assistance as he wanted; and, farther to mark their attachment, they prepared, as a pre-

sent

ſent for the king, a brazen veſſel, capable of containing three hundred amphoræ, and ornamented round the brim with the figures of various animals. This, however, never reached Sardis; the occaſion of which is thus differently explained. The Lacedæmonians affirm, that their veſſel was intercepted near Samos, on its way to Sardis, by the Samians, who had fitted out ſome ſhips of war for this particular purpoſe. The Samians, on the contrary, aſſert, that the Lacedæmonians employed on this buſineſs did not arrive in time; but, hearing that Sardis was loſt, and Crœſus in captivity, they diſpoſed of their charge to ſome private individuals of Samos, who preſented it to the temple of Juno. They who acted this part, might perhaps, on their return to Sparta, declare, that the veſſel had been violently taken from them by the Samians.

LXXI. Crœſus, in the mean time, deluded by the words of the oracle, prepared to lead his forces into Cappadocia, in full expectation of becoming conqueror of Cyrus, and of Perſia. Whilſt he was employed in providing for this expedition, a certain Lydian named Sardanis, who had always, among his countrymen, the reputation of wiſdom, and became ſtill more memorable from this occaſion, thus addreſſed Crœſus: "You meditate, O king! an attack upon men who are clothed with the ſkins of animals[100]; who, inhabiting a country but little cultivated,

[100] *Skins of animals.*]—Dreſſes made of the ſkins of animals are of the higheſt antiquity. Not to mention thoſe of Adam and Eve,

cultivated, live on what they can procure, not on what they wiſh: ſtrangers to the taſte of wine, they drink water only [101]; even figs are a delicacy with which they are unacquainted, and all our luxuries are entirely unknown to them. If you conquer them, what can you take from them, who have nothing? but if you ſhall be defeated, it becomes you to think of what you on your part will be deprived. When they ſhall once have taſted our delicacies, we ſhall never again be able to get rid of them. I indeed am thankful to the gods for not inſpiring the Perſians with the wiſh of invading Lydia." Crœſus diſregarded this admonition: it is nevertheleſs certain, that the Perſians, before their conqueſt of Lydia, were ſtrangers to every ſpecies of luxury.

LXXII. The Cappadocians are by the Greeks called Syrians. Before the empire of Perſia exiſted, they were under the dominion of the Medes, though now in ſubjection to Cyrus. The different empires of the Lydians and the Medes were divided by the

Eve, the Scythians and other northern nations uſed them as a defence againſt the cold. Even the inhabitants of warmer climates wore them before they became civilized.—*Bellanger.*

[101] *Drink water only.*]—Xenophon, as well as Herodotus, informs us, that the Perſians drank only water: nevertheleſs our hiſtorian, in another place, ſays, that the Perſians were addicted to wine. In this there is no contradiction: when theſe Perſians were poor, a little ſatisfied them; rendered rich by the conqueſts of Cyrus and his ſucceſſors, luxury, and all its concomitant vices, was introduced amongſt them.—*Larcher.*

river

river Halys [102]; which riſing in a mountain of Armenia, paſſes through Cilicia, leaving in its progreſs the Matienians on its right, and Phrygia on its left: then ſtretching towards the north, it ſeparates the Cappadocian Syrians from Paphlagonia, which is ſituate on the left of the ſtream. Thus the river Halys ſeparates all the lower parts of Aſia, from the ſea which flows oppoſite to Cyprus, as far as the Euxine, a ſpace over which an active man [103] could not travel in leſs than five days [104].

LXXIII. Crœſus continued to advance towards Cappadocia; he was deſirous of adding the country to his dominions, but he was principally influenced by his confidence in the oracle, and his zeal for revenging on Cyrus the cauſe of Aſtyages. Aſtyages was ſon of Cyaxares king of the Medes, and brother-in-law to Crœſus; he was now vanquiſhed, and de-

102 *Halys.*]—The ſtream of this river was colder than any in Ionia, and celebrated for that quality by the elegiac poets.—*Chandler's Travels in Aſia Minor.*

103 *Active man, &c.*]—The Greek is ευζωνῳ ανδρι, literally, in Engliſh, a well-girt man. The expreſſion is imitated by Horace:

> Hoc iter ignavi diviſimus—altius ac nos
> *Præcinctis* unum.——*T.*

104 *Five days.*]—Scymnus of Chios, having remarked that the Euxine is a ſeven days journey diſtant from Cilicia, adduces the preſent paſſage as a proof of our hiſtorian's ignorance. Scymnus probably eſtimated the day's journey at 150 furlongs, which was ſometimes done; whilſt Herodotus makes it 200. This makes, between their two accounts, a difference of 50 furlongs; a difference too ſmall to put any one out of temper with our hiſtorian.—*Larcher.*

tained in captivity by Cyrus, ſon of Cambyſes. The affinity betwixt Crœſus and Aſtyages was of this nature:—Some tumult having ariſen among the Scythian Nomades, a number of them retired clandeſtinely into the territories of the Medes, where Cyaxares ſon of Phraortes, and grandſon of Deioces, was at that time king. He received the fugitives under his protection, and, after ſhewing them many marks of his favour, he entruſted ſome boys to their care, to learn their language, and the Scythian management of the bow [105]. Theſe Scythians employed much of their time in hunting, in which they were generally, though not alike ſucceſsful. Cyaxares, it ſeems, was of an irritable diſpoſition, and meeting them one day, when they returned without any game, he treated them with much inſolence and aſperity. They conceived themſelves injured, and determined not to acquieſce in the affront. After ſome conſultation among themſelves, they determined to kill one of the children entruſted to their care, to dreſs him as they were accuſtomed to do their game, and to ſerve him up to Cyaxares. Having done this, they reſolved to fly to Sardis, where Alyattes, ſon of Sadyattes, was king. They executed their purpoſe. Cyaxares

105 *Scythian management of the bow.*]—The Scythians had the reputation of being excellent archers. The ſcholiaſt of Theocritus informs us, that, according to Herodotus and Callimachus, Hercules learned the art of the bow from the Scythian Teutarus. Theocritus himſelf ſays, that Hercules learned this art from Eurytus, one of the Argonauts. The Athenians had Scythians amongſt their troops, as had probably the other Greeks.—*Larcher.*

and

and his guefts partook of the human flefh, and the Scythians immediately fought the protection of Alyattes.

LXXIV. Cyaxares demanded their perfons; on refufal of which, a war commenced betwixt the Lydians and the Medes, which continued five years. It was attended with various fuccefs; and it is remarkable, that one of their engagements took place in the night [106]. In the fixth year, when neither fide could reafonably claim fuperiority, in the midft of an engagement the day was fuddenly involved in darknefs. This phænomenon, and the particular period at which it was to happen, had been foretold to the Ionians by Thales [107] the Milefian.

106 *Took place in the night.*]—Upon this paffage I am favoured, by an ingenious friend, with the following note.

" I am inclined to think that one event only is fpoken of here by Herodotus; and that by νυκτομαχιαν τινα he meant to exprefs a *kind* of *night-engagement*, of which the fubfequent fentence contains the particulars. Otherwife it feems ftrange, that he fhould mention the νυκτομαχια as a remarkable occurrence, and not give any particulars concerning it. The objections to this interpretation are, the connecting the fentence by δε inftead of γαρ, and the following account, that they ceafed to fight after the eclipfe came on; but neither of thefe are infuperable. The interpretation of τινα is perfectly fair, and not unufual. Aftronomers have affirmed, from calculation, that this eclipfe muft have happened in the feventh year of Aftyages, not in the reign of Cyaxares."

107 *Foretold to the Ionians by Thales.*]—Of Thales, the life is given by Diogenes Laertius; many particulars alfo concerning him are to be found in Plutarch, Pliny, Lactantius, Apuleius, and Cicero. He was the firft of the feven wife men, the firft alfo who

ſian. Awed by the ſolemnity of the event, the parties deſiſted from the engagement, and it farther influenced them both to liſten to certain propoſitions for peace, which were made by Syenneſis of Cilicia, and Labynetus [108] of Babylon. To ſtrengthen the treaty, theſe perſons alſo recommended a matrimonial connection. They adviſed that Alyattes ſhould give Aryenis his daughter to Aſtyages ſon of Cyaxares, from the juſt conviction that no political engagements are durable unleſs ſtrengthened by the cloſeſt of all poſſible bonds [109]. The ceremony of confirming alliances is the ſame in this nation as in Greece, with this addition, that both

who diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his knowledge of aſtrology; add to which, he was the firſt who predicted an eclipſe. His moſt memorable ſaying was, that he was thankful to the gods for three things—That he was born a man, and not a beaſt; that he was born a man, and not a woman; that he was born a Greek, and not a Barbarian. The darkneſs in the Iliad, which ſurprizes the Greeks and Trojans in the midſt of a ſevere battle, though repreſented as preternatural, and the immediate interpoſition of Jupiter himſelf, has not the effect of ſuſpending the battle. This might, perhaps, afford matter of diſcuſſion, did not the deſcription of the darkneſs, and the ſubſequent prayer of Ajax, from their beauty and ſublimity, exclude all criticiſm.—*T.*

108 *Labynetus.*]—The ſame, ſays Prideaux, with the Nebuchadnezzar of ſcripture. He was called, continues the ſame author, by Beroſus, Nabonnedus; by Megaſthenes, Nabonnidichus; by Joſephus, Naboardelus.—*T.*

109 *Strengthened by the cloſeſt of all poſſible bonds.*]—It is not, perhaps, much to the credit of modern refinement, that political intermarriages, betwixt thoſe of royal blood, ſeem anciently to have been conſidered as more ſolemn in themſelves, and to have operated more effectually to the ſecurity of the public peace, than at preſent.—*T.*

parties wound themſelves in the arm and mutually lick the blood [110].

LXXV. Aſtyages, therefore, was the grandfather of Cyrus, though at this time vanquiſhed by him, and his captive, the particulars of which event I ſhall hereafter relate. This was what excited the original enmity of Crœſus, and prompted him to enquire of the oracle whether he ſhould make war upon Perſia. The deluſive reply which was given him, he interpreted in a manner the moſt favorable to himſelf, and proceeded in his concerted expedition. When he arrived at the river Halys, he paſſed over his forces on bridges, which he there found conſtructed; although the Greeks in general aſſert, that this ſervice was rendered him by Thales the Mileſian. Whilſt Crœſus was heſitating over what part of the river he ſhould attempt a paſſage, as there was no bridge then conſtructed, Thales divided it into two branches. He ſunk a deep trench [111], which commencing above the camp, from

110 *Lick the blood.*]—The Scythians, according to Herodotus, have a cuſtom nearly ſimilar. "If the Siameſe wiſh to vow an eternal friendſhip, they make an inciſion in ſome part of the body, till the blood appears, which they afterwards reciprocally drink. In this manner the ancient Scythians and Babylonians ratified alliances; and almoſt all the modern nations of the Eaſt obſerve the ſame cuſtom."—*Civil and Natural Hiſtory of Siam.*

111 *Sunk a deep trench.*]—Anciently, when they wanted to conſtruct a bridge, they began by adding another channel to the river, to turn off the waters: when the ancient bed was dry, or at leaſt when there was but little water left, the bridge was erected. Thus it was much leſs troubleſome to Crœſus to turn the river than to conſtruct a bridge.—*Larcher.*

the river, was in the form of a semicircle conducted round it till it again met the ancient bed. It thus became easily fordable on either side. There are some who say, that the old channel was intirely dried up, to which opinion I can by no means assent, for then their return would have been equally difficult.

LXXVI. Crœsus having passed over with his army, came into that part of Cappadocia which is called Pteria, the best situated in point of strength of all that district, and near the city of Sinope, on the Euxine. He here fixed his station, and, after wasting the Syrian lands, besieged and took the Pterians principal city. He destroyed also the neighbouring towns, and almost exterminated the Syrians, from whom he had certainly received no injury. Cyrus at length collected his forces [112], and, taking with him those nations which lay betwixt himself and the invader, advanced to meet him. Before he began his march, he dispatched emissaries to the Ionians, with the view of detaching them from Crœsus. This not succeeding, he moved forwards and attacked Crœsus in his camp; they en-

[112] *Cyrus at length collected his forces.*]—Cyrus, intimidated by the threats of Crœsus, was inclined to retire into India. His wife Bardane inspired him with new courage, and advised him to consult Daniel, who, on more than one occasion, had predicted future events, both to her and to Darius the Mede. Cyrus having consulted the prophet, received from him an assurance of victory. To me this seems one of those fables which the Jews and earlier Christians made no scruple of asserting as truths not to be disputed.—*Larcher*.

gaged on the plains of Pteria, with the greatest ardour on both sides. The battle was continued with equal violence and loss till night parted the combatants, leaving neither in possession of victory.

LXXVII. The army of Crœsus being inferior in number, and Cyrus on the morrow discovering no inclination to renew the engagement, the Lydian prince determined to return to Sardis, intending to claim the assistance of the Ægyptians, with whose king, Amasis, he had formed an alliance, previous to his treaty with the Lacedæmonians. He had also made an offensive and defensive league with the Babylonians, over whom Labynetus was then king[113]. With these, in addition to the Lacedæmonian aids, who were to be ready at a stipulated period, he resolved, after spending a certain time in winter quarters, to attack the Persians early in the spring. Full of these thoughts, Crœsus returned to Sardis, and immediately sent messengers to his different allies, requiring them to meet at Sardis within the space of five months. The troops which he had led against the Persians, being chiefly mercenaries, he disembodied and dismissed, never supposing that Cyrus, who had certainly no claims of victory to assert, would think of following him to Sardis.

[113] *Labynetus was then king.*]—Labynetus was the last king of Babylon. He united himself with Crœsus to repress the too great power of Cyrus. The conduct of Amasis was prompted by a similar motive.—*Larcher.*

LXXVIII. Whilst the mind of Crœsus was thus occupied, the lands near his capital were filled with a multitude of serpents; and it was observed, that to feed on these, the horses neglected and forsook their pastures[114]. Crœsus conceiving this to be of mysterious import, which it unquestionably was, sent to make enquiry of the Telmessian priests[115] concerning it. The answer which his messengers received, explaining the prodigy, they had no opportunity of communicating to Crœsus, for before they could possibly return to Sardis, he was defeated and a captive. The Telmessians had thus interpreted the incident:—that a foreign army was about to attack Crœsus, on whose arrival the natives would be certainly subdued; for as the serpent was produced from the earth, the horse might be considered both as a foreigner and an enemy. When the ministers of the

[114] *Forsook their pastures.*]—There is a collection of prodigies by Julius Obsequens; all of which were understood to be predictive of some momentous event. Amongst these, the example of some mice eating the gold consecrated to the use of a divinity, and deposited in his temple, is not less remarkable than the instance before us. The English reader may, perhaps, construe this as rather expressive of the preceding avarice or poverty of the priests, than as predictive of the destruction of Carthage, to which event this with other prodigies was made to refer.—*T.*

[115] *Telmessian priests.*]—Telmessus was a son of Apollo, by one of the daughters of Antenor. The god had commerce with her under the form of a little dog; and to make her compensation, endowed her with the faculty of interpreting prodigies. Telmessus, her son, had the same gift. He was interred under the altar of Apollo, in the city of Telmessa, of which he was probably the founder.—*Larcher.*

oracle

oracle reported this anſwer to Crœſus, he was already in captivity, of which, and of the events which accompanied it, they were at that time ignorant.

LXXIX. Cyrus was well informed that it was the intention of Crœſus, after the battle of Pteria, to diſmiſs his forces; he conceived it therefore adviſable to advance with all imaginable expedition to Sardis, before the Lydian forces could be again collected. The meaſure was no ſooner concerted than executed; and conducting his army inſtantly into Lydia, he was himſelf the meſſenger of his arrival. Crœſus, although diſtreſſed by an event ſo contrary to his foreſight and expectation, loſt no time in preparing the Lydians for battle. At that period no nation of Aſia was more hardy or more valiant than the Lydians. They fought principally on horſeback, armed with long ſpears, and were very expert in the management of the horſe.

LXXX. The field of battle was a ſpacious and open plain in the vicinity of Sardis, interſected by many ſtreams, and by the Hyllus in particular, all of which united with one larger than the reſt, called the Hermus. This riſing in the mountain, which is ſacred to Cybele, finally empties itſelf into the ſea, near the city Phocæa. Here Cyrus found the Lydians prepared for the encounter; and as he greatly feared the impreſſion of their cavalry, by the advice of Harpagus the Mede, he took the following means of obviating the danger. He collected all the camels which followed his camp, car-

rying the provisions and other baggage; taking from these their burdens, he placed on them men accoutred as horsemen. Thus prepared, he ordered them to advance against the Lydian horse; his infantry were to follow in the rear of the camels, and his own cavalry closed the order of the attack. Having thus arranged his forces, he commanded that no quarter should be granted to the Lydians, but that whoever resisted should be put to death, Crœsus himself excepted, who, whatever opposition he might make, was at all events to be taken alive. He placed his camels in the van, knowing the hatred which a horse has to this animal[116], being neither able to support the smell nor the sight of it. He was satisfied that the principal dependance of Crœsus was on his cavalry, which he hoped by this stratagem to render ineffective. The engagement had no sooner commenced, than the horses seeing and smelling the camels, threw their own ranks into disorder, to the total discomfiture of Crœsus. Nevertheless the Lydians did not immediately surrender the day: they discovered the stratagem, and quitting their horses, engaged the Persians on foot; a great number of men fell on both sides; but the Lydians were finally compelled to fly, and, retreating within their walls, were there closely besieged.

116 *Horse has to this animal.*]—This natural antipathy of the horse for the camel, is affirmed by the ancients; but it is disproved by daily experience, and derided by the best judges, the Orientals.—*Gibbon.*

LXXXI.

LXXXI. Crœsus, believing the siege would be considerably protracted, sent other emissaries to his different confederates. The tendency of his former engagements was to require their presence at Sardis within five months. He now entreated the immediate assistance of his other allies, in common with the Lacedæmonians.

LXXXII. At this crisis the Spartans themselves were engaged in dispute with the Argives, concerning the possession of a place called Thyrea[117]; of which, although it really constituted a part of the Argive territories, the Lacedæmonians had taken violent possession. All that tract of country which extends from Argos, westward, to Malea, as well the continent as Cythera, and the other islands, belonged to the Argives. They prepared to defend the part of their territories which had been attacked; but the parties coming to a conference, it was agreed that three hundred men on each side should decide the dispute, and that Thyrea should be the reward of victory. Both the armies, by agreement, were to retire to their respective homes, lest remaining on the field of battle either should be induced to render assistance to their party. After their departure the men who had been selected for the purpose came to an engagement, and fought with so little inequality, that out of six hundred but

[117] *Called Thyrea.*]—Thyrea was, from its situation, a place of infinite importance to the Argives, as they obtained by it a communication with all their other possessions on that side.—*Larcher.*

three remained, when night alone had terminated the conteſt. Of the Argives two ſurvived, whoſe names were Alcenor and Chromius; they haſtened to Argos, and claimed the victory. The Lacedæmonian was called Othryades, who, plundering the bodies of the ſlaughtered Argives, removed their arms to the camp of his countrymen, and then reſumed his poſt in the field. On the ſecond day after the event, the parties met, and both claimed the victory, the Argives, becauſe the greater number of their men ſurvived; the Lacedæmonians becauſe the Argives who remained had fled, but their ſingle man had continued in the field, and plundered the bodies of his adverſaries. Their altercations terminated in a battle [118], in which, after conſiderable loſs on both ſides, the Lacedæmonians were victorious. From this time and incident the Argives, who formerly ſuffered their hair to grow its full length, cut it ſhort, binding themſelves by a ſolemn imprecation, that till Thyrea ſhould be recovered, no man ſhould permit his hair to increaſe, nor Argive woman adorn herſelf with gold. The Lacedæmonians, on the contrary, iſſued an edict, that as they formerly wore their hair ſhort [119], it ſhould

118 *Terminated in a battle.*]—Plutarch, on the contrary, affirms, that the Amphictyons coming to the ſpot, and bearing teſtimony to the valour of Othryades, adjudged the victory to the Lacedæmonians. He makes no mention of a ſecond battle. —*Larcher.*

119 *Formerly wore their hair ſhort.*]—All the Greeks formerly wore their hair very long, which is evident from the epithet ſo repeatedly given them by Homer, of long-haired. Xenophon, in

ſhould henceforth be permitted to grow. It is reported of Othryades, the ſurvivor of his three hundred countrymen, that aſhamed to return to Sparta, when all his comrades had ſo honourably died, he put himſelf to death at Thyrea.

LXXXIII. Whilſt the Spartans were in this ſituation, the Sardian meſſenger arrived, relating the extreme danger of Crœſus, and requeſting their immediate aſſiſtance. This they without heſitation reſolved to give. Whilſt they were making for this purpoſe preparations of men and ſhips, a ſecond meſſenger brought intelligence, that Sardis was taken, and Crœſus in captivity. Strongly impreſſed by this wonderful calamity, the Lacedæmonians made no farther efforts.

LXXXIV. Sardis was thus taken:—On the fourteenth day of the ſiege, Cyrus ſent ſome horſemen round his camp, promiſing a reward to whoever ſhould firſt ſcale the wall. The attempt was

in contradiction to the paſſage before us, remarks, that the Lacedæmonian cuſtom of ſuffering the hair to grow, was amongſt the inſtitutions of Lycurgus. Plutarch alſo denies the fact here introduced.—*Larcher.*

This battle neceſſarily brings to mind the conteſt of the Horatii and Curiatii, which decided the empire of Rome. The account which Suidas gives of Othryades, differs eſſentially. Othryades, ſays he, was wounded, and concealed himſelf amongſt the bodies of the ſlain; and when Alcenor and Chromius, the Argives who ſurvived, were departed, he himſelf ſtripping the bodies of the enemy, erected thus a trophy, as it were, of human blood, and immediately died.—*T.*

made, but without ſucceſs. After which a certain Mardian, whoſe name was Hyræades [120], made a daring effort on a part of the citadel where no centinel was ſtationed; it being ſo ſtrong and ſo difficult of approach as ſeemingly to defy all attack. Around this place alone Meles had neglected to carry his ſon Leon, whom he had by a concubine, the Telmeſſian prieſts having declared, that Sardis ſhould never be taken, if Leon were carried round the walls. Leon, it ſeems, was carried by his father round every part of the citadel which was expoſed to attack. He omitted taking him round that which is oppoſite to mount Tmolus, from the perſuaſion that its natural ſtrength rendered all modes of defence unneceſſary. Here, however, the Mardian had the preceding day obſerved a Lydian

[120] *Hyræades.*]—Of this perſon Xenophon does not give us the name. According to him, a Perſian who had been the ſlave of a man on military duty in the citadel, ſerved as guide to the troops of Cyrus. In other reſpects, his account of the capture of Sardis differs but little from that of our Hiſtorian. —*Larcher*.

By means of this very rock, and by a ſimilar ſtratagem, Sardis was a long time afterwards taken, under the conduct of Antiochus. The circumſtances are deſcribed at length by Polybius. An officer had obſerved, that vultures and birds of prey gathered there about the offals and dead bodies thrown into the hollow by the beſieged; and inferred that the wall ſtanding on the edge of the precipice was neglected, as ſecure from attack. He ſcaled it with a reſolute party, while Antiochus called off the attention both of his own army and of the enemy, by a feint, marching as if he intended to attack the Perſian gate. Two thouſand ſoldiers ruſhed in at the gate opened for them, and took their poſt at the theatre, when the town was plundered and burned.—*T.*

" deſcend

descend to recover his helmet, which had fallen down the precipice. He revolved the incident in his mind. He attempted to scale it; he was seconded by other Persians, and their example followed by greater numbers. In this manner was Sardis stormed [121], and afterwards given up to plunder.

LXXXV. We have now to speak of the fate of Crœsus. He had a son, as we have before related, who, though accomplished in other respects, was unfortunately dumb. Crœsus in his former days of good fortune, had made every attempt to obtain a cure for this infirmity. Amongst other things, he sent to enquire of the Delphic oracle. The Pythian returned this answer:—

Wide ruling Lydian, in thy wishes wild,
Ask not to hear the accents of thy child;
Far better were his silence for thy peace,
And sad will be the day when that shall cease.

[121] *In this manner was Sardis stormed.*]—Polyænus relates the matter differently. According to him, Cyrus availed himself of a truce which he had concluded with Crœsus, to advance his forces, and making his approach by night, took the city by surprize. Crœsus still remaining in possession of the citadel, expected the arrival of his Grecian succours: but Cyrus putting in irons the relations and friends of those who defended the citadel, shewed them in that state to the besieged; at the same time he informed them by a herald, that if they would give up the place he would set their friends at liberty; but that if they persevered in their defence, he would put them to death. The besieged chose rather to surrender, than cause their relations to perish.—*T.*

During

During the ſtorm of the city, a Perſian meeting Crœſus, was, through ignorance of his perſon, about to kill him. The king overwhelmed by his calamity, took no care to avoid the blow or eſcape death; but his dumb ſon, when he ſaw the violent deſigns of the Perſian, overcome with aſtoniſhment and terror, exclaimed aloud, "Oh, man, do not kill "Crœſus [122]!" This was the firſt time he had ever articulated, but he retained the faculty of ſpeech from this event as long as he lived.

LXXXVI. The Perſians thus obtained poſſeſſion of Sardis, and made Crœſus captive, when he had reigned fourteen years, and after a ſiege of fourteen days; a mighty empire, agreeably to the prediction which had deluded him, being then deſtroyed. The Perſians brought him to the preſence of Cyrus, who ordered him to be placed in chains upon the ſummit of an huge wooden pile [123], and fourteen

[122] *"Do not kill Crœſus!"*]—Mr. Hayley, in his Eſſay on Hiſtory, reprobating the irreligious ſpirit of Mr. Gibbon, happily introduces this incident.

My verſe, ſays the Poet,

—Breathes an honeſt ſigh of deep concern,
And pities genius, when his wild career
Gives faith a wound, and innocence a fear.
Humility herſelf, divinely mild,
Sublime Religion's meek and modeſt child,
Like the dumb ſon of Crœſus, in the ſtrife
Where force aſſail'd his father's ſacred life,
Breaks ſilence, and with filial duty warm,
Bids thee revere her parent's hallowed form.

[123] *An huge wooden pile.*]—The cruelty of this conduct of Cyrus

fourteen Lydian youths around him. He did this, either desirous of offering to some deity the first fruits of his victory, in compliance with some vow which he had made; or, perhaps, anxious to know whether any deity would liberate Crœsus, of whose piety he had heard, from the danger of being consumed by fire. When Crœsus stood erect upon the pile, although in this extremity of misery, he did not forget the saying of Solon, which now appeared of divine inspiration, that no living mortal could be accounted happy. When the memory of this saying occurred to Crœsus, it is said, that rousing himself from the profoundest silence of affliction, he thrice pronounced aloud the name of Solon [124].

Cyrus is aggravated from the consideration that Crœsus was his relation. See chap. 73.—*T.*

124 *The name of Solon.*]—It seems in this place not improper to introduce from Plutarch the following particulars, with respect to Crœsus and Solon. That Solon, says Plutarch, should converse with Crœsus, seems to some not consistent with chronology; but I cannot for this reason reject a relation so credible in itself, and so well attested. Plutarch, after this remark, proceeds to give an account of the conversation betwixt Crœsus and Solon, nearly in the same words with Herodotus: "The felicity of that man," concludes the philosopher, to the king, who still lives, is like the glory of a wrestler still within the ring, precarious and uncertain." He was then dismissed, having vexed, but not instructed Crœsus. But when Crœsus was conquered by Cyrus, his city taken, and himself a prisoner, he was bound, and about to be burned on a pile; then he remembered the words of Solon, and three times pronounced his name. The explanation given at the request of Cyrus, preserved the life of Crœsus, and obtained him respect and honour with his conqueror. Thus Solon had the glory, by the same saying, to instruct one prince and preserve another.—*Plutarch's life of Solon.*

Cyrus

Cyrus hearing this, desired by his interpreters to know who it was that he invoked. They approached, and asked him, but he continued silent. At length, being compelled to explain himself, he said, "I named a man with whom I had rather that all kings should converse, than be master of the greatest riches." Not being sufficiently understood, he was solicited to be more explicit; to their repeated and importunate enquiries, he replied to this effect: That Solon, an Athenian, had formerly visited him, a man who, when he had seen all his immense riches, treated them with disdain; whose sayings were at that moment verified in his fate; sayings which he had applied not to him in particular, but to all mankind, and especially to those who were in their own estimation happy. While Crœsus was thus speaking the pile was lighted, and the flame began to ascend. Cyrus being informed of what had passed, felt compunction for what he had done. His heart reproached him, that being himself a mortal, he had condemned to a cruel death by fire a man formerly not inferior to himself. He feared the anger of the gods, and reflecting that all human affairs are precarious and uncertain, he commanded the fire to be instantly extinguished, and Crœsus to be saved with his companions. The flames, however, repelled the efforts of the ministers of Cyrus.

LXXXVII. In this extremity, the Lydians affirm, that Crœsus, informed of the change of the king's sentiments in his favour, by seeing the offi-

cious efforts of the multitude to extinguiſh the flames, which ſeemed likely to be ineffectual, implored the aſſiſtance of Apollo, entreating, that if he had ever made him any acceptable offering [125], he would now interpoſe, and deliver him from the impending danger. When Crœſus, with tears, had thus invoked the god, the ſky, which before was ſerene and tranquil, ſuddenly became dark and gloomy, a violent ſtorm of rain ſucceeded, and the fire of the pile was extinguiſhed. This event ſatisfied Cyrus that Crœſus was both a good man in himſelf, and a favourite of heaven: cauſing him to be taken down from the pile, "Crœſus," ſaid he, addreſſing him, "what could induce you to invade my territories, and become my enemy rather than my friend?" "Oh king," replied Crœſus, "it was the prevalence of your good and of my evil fortune which prompted my attempt. I attacked your dominions, impelled and deluded by the deity of the Greeks. No one can be ſo infatuated as not to prefer tranquillity to war. In peace children inter their parents; war violates the order of nature, and cauſes parents to inter their children. It muſt have

125 *Ever made him any acceptable offering.*]—Larcher is of opinion, that in this paſſage Herodotus muſt have had in his eye the following lines of Homer:

> Thou ſource of light, whom Tenedos adores,
> And whoſe bright preſence gilds thy Chryſa's ſhores;
> If e'er with wreaths I hung thy ſacred fane,
> Or fed the flames with fat of oxen ſlain,
> God of the ſilver bow, &c.—
>
> *Iliad, Book* i. v. 55. *of Pope's Tranſlation.*

pleaſed

pleaſed the gods that theſe things ſhould ſo happen."

LXXXVIII. Cyrus immediately ordered him to be unbound, placed him near his perſon, and treated him with great reſpect; indeed he excited the admiration of all who were preſent. After an interval of ſilent meditation, Crœſus obſerved the Perſians engaged in the plunder of the city. "Does it become me, Cyrus," ſaid he, "to continue ſilent on this occaſion, or to ſpeak the ſentiments of my heart?" Cyrus entreated him to ſpeak without apprehenſion or reſerve. "About what," he returned, "is that multitude ſo eagerly employed?" "They are plundering your city," replied Cyrus, "and poſſeſſing themſelves of your wealth." "No," anſwered Crœſus, "they do not plunder *my* city, nor poſſeſs themſelves of *my* wealth, I have no concern with either; it is your property which they are thus deſtroying."

LXXXIX. Theſe words diſturbed Cyrus; deſiring therefore thoſe who were preſent to withdraw, he aſked Crœſus what meaſures he would recommend in the preſent emergence. "The gods," anſwered Crœſus, "have made me your captive, and you are therefore juſtly entitled to the benefit of my reflections. Nature has made the Perſians haughty but poor. If you permit them to indulge without reſtraint this ſpirit of devaſtation, by which they may become rich, it is probable that your acquieſcence may thus foſter a ſpirit of rebellion,

lion againſt yourſelf. I would recommend the following mode to be adopted, if agreeable to your wiſdom: ſtation ſome of your guards at each of the gates, let it be their buſineſs to ſtop the plunderers with their booty, and bid them aſſign as a reaſon, that one tenth part muſt be conſecrated to Jupiter. Thus you will not incur their enmity by any ſeeming violence of conduct; they will even accede without reluctance to your views, under the impreſſion of your being actuated by a ſenſe of duty."

XC. Cyrus was delighted with the advice, and immediately adopted it; he ſtationed guards in the manner recommended by Crœſus, whom he ſoon after thus addreſſed: "Crœſus, your conduct and your words mark a princely character, I deſire you, therefore, to requeſt of me whatever you pleaſe, and your wiſh ſhall be inſtantly gratified." "Sir," replied Crœſus, "you will materially oblige me, by your permiſſion to ſend theſe fetters to the god of Greece [126], whom, above all others, I have honoured; and to enquire of him, whether it be his rule to delude thoſe who have claims upon his kindneſs." When Cyrus expreſſed a wiſh to know the occaſion of this implied reproach, Crœſus ingenuouſly explained each particular of his con-

[126] *God of Greece.*]—The Heathens in general believed that there was but one God, but they believed, or rather talked of a multitude of miniſters, deputies, or inferior gods, as acting under this ſupreme. The firſt may be called the philoſophical belief, and the ſecond the vulgar belief of the Heathens.—*Spence.*

duct, the oracles he had received, and the gifts he had presented; declaring, that these inspired communications alone had induced him to make war upon the Persians. He finished his narrative with again soliciting permission to send and reproach the divinity which had deceived him. Cyrus smiled: "I will not only grant this," said he, "but whatever else you shall require." Crœsus accordingly dispatched some Lydians to Delphi, who were commissioned to place his fetters on the threshold of the temple, and to ask if the deity were not ashamed at having, by his oracles, induced Crœsus to make war on Persia, with the expectation of overturning the empire of Cyrus, of which war these chains were the first fruits: and they were farther to enquire, if the gods of Greece were usually ungrateful.

XCI. The Lydians proceeded on their journey, and executed their commission; they are said to have received the following reply from the Pythian priestess: "That to avoid the determination of destiny [127] was impossible even for a divinity: that Crœsus, in his person, expiated the crimes of his ancestor,

[127] *Determination of destiny.*]—There were two fates, the greater and the less: the determinations of the first were immutable; those of the latter might be set aside. The expression in Virgil, of "Si qua fata aspera rumpas," is certainly equivocal, and must be understood as applying to the lesser fates. This subject is fully discussed by Bentley, in his notes to Horace, Epist. book 2. who, for "ingentia facta," proposes to read "ingentia fata."—*T.*

in the fifth descent[128]; who being a guardsman of the Heraclidæ, was seduced by the artifice of a woman to assassinate his master, and without the remotest pretensions succeeded to his dignities: that Apollo was desirous to have this destruction of Sardis fall on the descendants of Crœsus, but was unable to counteract the decrees of fate; that he had really obviated them as far as was possible; and, to shew his partiality to Crœsus[129], had caused

[128] *In the fifth descent.*]—"Such, you say, is the power of the gods, that if death shall deliver an individual from the punishment due to his crimes, vengeance shall still be satisfied on his children, his grandchildren, or some of his posterity. Wonderful as may be the equity of Providence, will any city suffer a law to be introduced, which shall punish a son or a grandson for the crimes of his father or his grandfather?" *Cicero de Naturâ Deorum.*—Upon the above Larcher remarks, that Cicero speaks like a wise, Herodotus like a superstitious man. It is true that it is the Divinity who speaks; but it is the Historian who makes him, and who approves of what he says.

Crœsus was the fifth descendant of Gyges. The genealogy was this: Gyges, Ardys, Saddyattes, Alyattes, Crœsus.—*T.*

[129] *Partiality to Crœsus.*]—In the remoter ages of ignorance and superstition, the divinities, or their symbols, did not always experience from their worshippers the same uniform veneration. When things succeeded contrary to their wishes or their prayers, they sometimes chained their gods, sometimes beat them, and often reproached them. So that it seems difficult to account for those qualities of the human mind, which, acknowledging the inclination to hear petitions, with the power to grant them, at one time expressed themselves in the most abject and unmanly superstition, at another indulged resentments equally preposterous and unnatural. To a mind but the least enlightened, the very circumstance of a deity's apologizing to a fallen mortal for his predictions and their effects, seems to have but little tendency to excite in future an awe of his power, a reverence for his wisdom, or a confidence in his justice.—*T.*

 the

the ruin of Sardis to be deferred for the space of three years: that of this Crœsus might be assured, that if the will of the fates had been punctually fulfilled, he would have been three years sooner a captive: neither ought he to forget, that when in danger of being consumed by fire, Apollo had afforded him his succour: that with respect to the declaration of the oracle, Crœsus was not justified in his complaints; for Apollo had declared, that if he made war against the Persians, a mighty empire would be overthrown; the real purport of which communication if he had been anxious to understand, it became him to have enquired whether the god alluded to his empire, or the empire of Cyrus; but that not understanding the reply which had been made, nor condescending to make a second enquiry, he had been himself the cause of his own misfortune: that he had not at all comprehended the last answer of the oracle, which related to the mule; for that this mule was Cyrus, who was born of two parents of two different nations, of whom the mother was as noble as the father was mean; his mother was a Mede, daughter of Astyages, king of the Medes; his father was a Persian, and tributary to the Medes, who, although a man of the very meanest rank, had married a princess, who was his mistress."—This answer of the Pythian the Lydians, on their return, communicated to Crœsus. Crœsus having heard it, exculpated the deity, and acknowledged himself to be reprehensible. Such, however, was the termination of the empire of Crœsus, and this the recital of the first conquest of Ionia.

XCII. Besides the sacred offerings of Crœsus which we have before enumerated, many others are extant in Greece. In the Bœotian Thebes there is a golden tripod [130], consecrated by him to the Ismenian Apollo [131]: there are also at Ephesus [132] some golden heifers, and a number of columns. He gave also to the Pronean Minerva [133] a large golden shield, which is still to be seen at Delphi. All the above remained within my remembrance; many others have been lost. He presented also, as it appears, to the Milesian Branchidæ, gifts equal in weight and value to what he sent to Delphi. The presents which he

[130] *Tripod.*]—We must not confound the tripods of the ancients with the utensils known by us at present under a similar name (in French *trepieds* corresponding with the kitchen utensil called in English *footman.*) The tripod was a vessel standing upon three feet, of which there were two kinds: the one was appropriated to festivals, and contained wine mixed with water; the others were placed upon the fire, in which water was made warm.—*Larcher.*

[131] *Ismenian Apollo.*]—Ismenus was a river in Bœotia, not far from Aulis. Ismenius was synonymous with Thebanus, and therefore the Ismenian Apollo is the same with the Theban Apollo.—*T.*

[132] *Ephesus.*]—Pocock says, that the place now called Aiesalouk is ancient Ephesus. Chandler says otherwise.

The two cities of Ephesus and Smyrna have been termed the eyes of Asia Minor: they were distant from each other three hundred and twenty stadia, or forty miles, in a strait line.—*T.*

[133] *Pronean Minerva.*]—This means the Minerva whose shrine or temple was opposite to that of Apollo at Delphi: but Herodotus, in his eighth book, makes mention of the shrine of Minerva Pronoia, or of Minerva the goddess of providence. So that, at Delphi, there were two different shrines or temples consecrated to Minerva, the Pronean, and the Pronoian.—*T.*

made to Delphi, as well as thoſe which he ſent to Amphiaraus, were given for ſacred purpoſes from his own private or hereditary poſſeſſions. His other donations were formerly the property of an adverſary, who had ſhewn himſelf hoſtile to Crœſus before he ſucceeded to the throne, attaching himſelf to Pantaleon [134], and favouring his views on the imperial dignity. Pantaleon was alſo the ſon of Alyattes, and brother of Crœſus, but not by the ſame mother: Alyattes had Crœſus by a Carian and Pantaleon by an Ionian wife. But when, agreeably to the will of his father, Crœſus took poſſeſſion of the throne, he deſtroyed, in a fuller's mill, this man who had oppoſed him: his wealth he diſtributed in the manner we have before related, in compliance with a vow which he had formerly made. Such is the hiſtory of the offerings of Crœſus.

XCIII. If we except the gold duſt which deſcends from mount Tmolus [135], Lydia can exhibit no curioſity which may vie with thoſe of other

[134] *Pantaleon.*] —When Crœſus mounted the Lydian throne, he divided the kingdom with his brother. A Lydian remarked to him, that the ſun obtains to mankind all the comforts which the earth produces, and that, deprived of its influence, it would ceaſe to be fruitful. But if there were two ſuns, it were to be feared that every thing would be ſcorched and periſh. For this reaſon the Lydians have but one king; him they regard as their protector, but they will not allow of two.—*Stobæus.*

[135] *Mount Tmolus.*]—The country about mount Tmolus, which comprehended the plain watered by the Hermus, was always remarkable for its fertility and beauty; and whoever will be at the pains to conſult Chandler's Travels, will find that it has loſt but little of its ancient claims to admiration.—*T.*

countries.

countries. It boasts, however, of one monument of art, second to none but those of the Ægyptians and Babylonians. It is the sepulchre of Alyattes [136], father of Crœsus. The ground-work is composed of immense stones; the rest of the structure is a huge mound of earth. The edifice was raised by men of mean and mercenary occupations, assisted by young women, who prostituted themselves for hire. On the summit of this monument there remained, within my remembrance, five termini, upon which were inscriptions to ascertain the performance of each, and to intimate that the women accomplished the greater part of the work. All the young women of Lydia prostitute themselves, by which they procure their marriage-portion; this, with their persons, they afterwards dispose of as they think proper. The circumference of the tomb is six furlongs and two plethra, the breadth thirteen plethra, it is terminated by a large piece of water, which the Lydians affirm to be inexhaustible, and is called the Gygean lake [137].

XCIV. The manners and customs of the Lydians do not essentially vary from those of Greece, except in this prostitution of the young women.

[136] *Sepulchre of Alyattes.*]—The remains of this barrow are still conspicuous within five miles of Sardes, now called Sart. The industrious Dr. Chandler informs us, that the mold which has been washed down, conceals the basement; but that and a considerable treasure might be discovered, if the barrow were opened.—See *Chandler's Travels.*

[137] *Gygean lake,*]—still remains.—*T.*

They are the firſt people on record who coined gold and ſilver [138] into money, and traded in retail. They claim alſo the invention of certain games, which have ſince been practiſed among the Grecians, and which, as they ſay, were firſt diſcovered at the time of their ſending a colony into Tyrrhenia. The particulars are thus related:—In the reign of Atys, the ſon of Menes, all Lydia was reduced to the ſevereſt extremity by a ſcarcity of corn. Againſt this they contended for a conſiderable time, by patient and unremitted induſtry. This not proving effectual, they ſought other reſources, each one exerting his own genius. Upon this occaſion they invented bowls and dice, with many other games: of cheſs, however, the Lydians do not claim the diſcovery. Theſe they applied as an alternative againſt the effects of the famine [139]. One day they gave themſelves ſo totally to their diverſions, as to abſtain entirely from food; on the next they refrained from their games, and took their neceſſary repaſts. They lived thus for the ſpace of eighteen years. But when their calamity remitted nothing of its violence, but rather increaſed, the

138 *Who coined gold and ſilver.*]—Who were really the firſt people that coined gold money, is a queſtion not to be decided. According to ſome, it was Phidon, king of Argos; according to others, Demodice, the wife of Midas.—*Larcher.*

139 *Againſt the effects of the famine.*]—That the Lydians may have been the inventors of games, is very probable; that under the preſſure of famine, they might detach half their nation to ſeek their fortune elſewhere, is not unlikely: but that to ſoften their miſerable ſituation, and to get rid of the ſenſations of hunger, they ſhould eat only every other day, and that for the ſpace of eighteen years, appears perfectly abſurd.—*Larcher.*

king divided the whole nation by lot into two parts, one of which was to continue at home, the other to migrate elsewhere. They who stayed behind retained their ancient king; the emigrants placed themselves under the conduct of his son, whose name was Tyrrhenus. These leaving their country, as had been determined, went to Smyrna, where building themselves vessels for the purpose of transplanting their property and their goods, they removed in search of another residence. After visiting different nations, they arrived at length in Umbria. Here they constructed cities, and have continued to the present period, changing their ancient appellation of Lydians, for that of Tyrrhenians [140], after the son of their former sovereign.

XCV. We have before related how these Lydians were reduced under the dominion of Persia. It now becomes necessary for us to explain who this Cyrus, the conqueror of Crœsus, was, and by what means the Persians obtained the empire of Asia. I shall follow the authority of those Persians who seem more influenced by a regard to truth, than any par-

140 *Tyrrhenians.*]—It was these Tyrrhenians, or Etruscans, who taught the Romans their games and combats, in which they excelled, especially in racing with chariots. For the same reason, most of the great number of Etruscan monuments found in Italy relate to sports and games; which confirms what authors say of the Lydians, and of the Etruscans who are sprung from them.—*Montfaucon.*

tiality to Cyrus; not ignorant, however, that there are three other narratives [141] of this monarch.—The Assyrians had been in possession of the Upper Asia for a period of five hundred and twenty years. The Medes first of all revolted from their authority, and contended with such obstinate bravery against their masters, that they were ultimately successful, and exchanged servitude for freedom. Other nations soon followed their example, which, after living for a time under the protection of their own laws, were again deprived of their freedom, upon the following occasion.

XCVI. There was a man among the Medes, of the name of Deioces, of great reputation for his wisdom, whose ambitious views were thus disguised and exercised:—The Medes were divided into different districts, and Deioces was distinguished in his own by his vigilant and impartial distribution of justice. This he practised in opposition to the general depravity and weakness of the government of his country, and not unconscious that the profligate and the just must ever be at war with each other.

[141] *Three other narratives.*]—Ctesias, in the fragments of his Persian history, preserved by Photius, differs from Herodotus in his account of the origin and exploits of Cyrus. What Xenophon relates in his Cyropædia, is familiar to every one. Æschylus, an author of great antiquity, who fought at Marathon against the troops of Darius, and who was also in the battles of Salamis and Platea, has, in his tragedy, intitled The Persians, followed a different tradition from them all.—*Larcher.*

The

The Medes who lived neareſt him, to ſignify their approbation of his integrity, made him their judge. In this ſituation, having one more elevated in view, he conducted himſelf with the moſt rigid equity. His behaviour obtained the higheſt applauſes of his countrymen; and his fame extending to the neighbouring diſtricts, the people contraſted his juſt and equitable deciſions with the irregularity of their own corrupt rulers, and unanimouſly reſorted to his tribunal, not ſuffering any one elſe to determine their litigations.

XCVII. The increaſing fame of his integrity and wiſdom conſtantly augmented the number of thoſe who came to conſult him. But when Deioces ſaw the pre-eminence which he was ſo univerſally allowed, he appeared no more on his accuſtomed tribunal, and declared that he ſhould ſit as a judge no longer; intimating, that it was inconſiſtent for him to regulate the affairs of others, to the entire neglect and injury of his own. After this, as violence and rapine prevailed more than ever in the different diſtricts of the Medes, they called a public aſſembly to deliberate on national affairs. As far as I have been able to collect, they who were attached to Deioces delivered ſentiments to this effect:—"Our preſent ſituation is really intolerable, let us therefore elect a king, that we may have the advantage of a regular government, and continue our uſual occupations, without any fear or danger of moleſtation." In conformity to theſe ſentiments, the Medes determined to have a king.

XCVIII.

XCVIII. After ſome conſultation about what perſon they ſhould chooſe, Deioces was propoſed and elected with univerſal praiſe. Upon his elevation he required a palace to be erected for him ſuitable to his dignity, and to have guards appointed for the ſecurity of his perſon. The Medes, in compliance with his requeſt, built him a ſtrong and magnificent edifice [142] in a ſituation which he himſelf choſe, and ſuffered him to appoint his guards from among the whole nation. Deioces, as ſoon as he poſſeſſed the ſupreme authority, obliged the Medes to build a city, which, with reſpect to its ornament and ſtrength, was to have a pre-eminence above all the reſt. They obeyed him in this alſo, and conſtructed what we now call Ecbatana [143]. Its walls were ſtrong and ample, built in circles one within another, riſing each above each by the height of their reſpective battlements. This mode of building was favoured by the ſituation of the place, which

[142] *Magnificent edifice.*]—This palace was at the foot of the citadel, and about ſeven furlongs in circumference. The wood work was of cedar or cypreſs-wood: the beams, the ceilings, the columns of the porticos, and the periſtyles, were plated with either gold or ſilver; the roofs were covered with ſilver tiles. The whole was plundered about the time of Alexander.—*Larcher.*

[143] *Ecbatana.*]—Mr. Gibbon, whoſe geographical knowledge is ſuperior to that of all his cotemporaries, thinks, that Ecbatana was probably in the ſame ſituation with the modern Tauris.

Diodorus Siculus is of opinion, that Ecbatana was built on a plain.

Dutens, in his learned and ingenious enquiry into the origin of the diſcoveries attributed to the moderns, brings this among other inſtances to prove, that the ancients, in magnificence, have never been ſurpaſſed, and ſeldom equalled.—*T.*

was

was a gently rising ground. They did yet more: the city being thus formed of seven circles, and within the last, stood the king's palace and the royal treasury. The largest of these walls is nearly equal in extent to the circumference of Athens; this is of a white colour, the next to it is black, the next purple, the fourth blue, the fifth orange: thus the battlements of each were distinguished by a different colour. The two innermost walls are differently ornamented, one having its battlements plated with silver, the other with gold.

XCIX. Such were the fortifications and the palace which were erected under the direction of Deioces, who commanded the body of the people to fix their habitations beyond the walls which protected his residence. After which he was the first who instituted that kind of pomp which forbids access to the royal person, and only admits communication with him by intermediate agents, the king himself being never publicly seen. His edict also signified, that to smile or to spit in the king's presence, or in the presence of each other, was an act of indecency [144]. His motive for this conduct was

144 *An act of indecency.*]—The modern manners of the Orientals bear in many instances a minute conformity to the most ancient accounts of them which are come down to us. The difficulty of approach to the princes and great men of the East, is a circumstance remarked by all modern travellers. The act of spitting, in the East, is much more detestable than we have any conception of. The Arabs never spit before their superiors; and Sir John Chardin tells us, that spitting before any one, or

was the ſecurity of his power; thinking, that if he were ſeen familiarly by thoſe who were educated with him, born with equal pretenſions, and not his inferiors in virtue, it might excite their regret, andprovoke them to ſedition. On the contrary, by his withdrawing himſelf from obſervation, he thought their reſpect for him would be increaſed.

C. When Deioces had taken theſe meaſures to increaſe the ſplendour of his ſituation and the ſecurity of his power, he became extremely rigorous in his adminiſtration of juſtice. They who had cauſes to determine, ſent them to him in writing, by his official ſervants, which, with the deciſions upon each, he regularly returned. This was the form which he obſerved in judiciary matters. His proceeding with regard to penal offences was thus:— Whenever he heard of any injury being perpetrated, and for this purpoſe he appointed ſpies and informers in different parts of his dominions, the offender was firſt brought to his preſence, and then puniſhed according to his offence.

CI. Deioces thus collected the Medes into one nation, over which he ruled: they conſiſted of the

or ſpitting upon the ground in ſpeaking of any one's actions, is, through the Eaſt, an expreſſion of extreme deteſtation.—*T.*

Larcher remarks, that the uſe of tobacco has rendered the Orientals leſs punctilious with reſpect to the circumſtance of ſpitting. Niebuhr informs us, in his deſcription of Arabia, that he has frequently ſeen the maſter of a family ſitting with a china ſpitting-pot near him. He at the ſame time obſerves, that they do not often ſpit, although they continue ſmoking for many hours at a time.

Buſæ,

Busæ, the Paretaceni, the Struchates, the Arizanti, the Budii, and the Magi.

CII. Deioces reigned fifty-three years, and at his decease his son Phraortes succeeded to the throne. Not satisfied with his hereditary dominions, he singled out the Persians as the objects of his ambitious views, and reduced them first of all under the dominion of the Medes. Supreme of these two great and powerful nations, he overran Asia, alternately subduing the people of whom it was composed. He came at length to the Assyrians, and proceeded to attack that part of them which inhabited Nineveh [145]. These were formerly the first power in Asia: their allies at this period had separated from them; but they were still, with regard to their internal strength, respectable. In the twenty-second year of his reign, Phraortes [146], in an excursion against this people, perished, with the greater part of his army.

CIII. He was succeeded by his son Cyaxares, grandson of Deioces. He is reported to have been

145 *Nineveh,*]—is supposed to be the modern Mousul.—*Pocock.*

146 *Phraortes.*]—According to Herodotus,

		yrs.
the reign of Deioces was		53
	of Phraortes	22
	of Cyaxares	12
	of the Scythians	28
	of Astyages	35
		150

T.

superior

ſuperior to his anceſtors in valour, and was the firſt who regularly trained the Aſiatics to military ſervice; dividing them, who had before been promiſcuouſly confounded, into companies of ſpearmen, cavalry, and archers. He it was who was carrying on war with the Lydians, when the engagement which happened in the day was ſuddenly interrupted by nocturnal darkneſs. Having formed an amicable connection with the different nations of Aſia beyond the Halys, he proceeded with all his forces to the attack of Nineveh, being equally deſirous of avenging his father, and becoming maſter of the city. He vanquiſhed the Aſſyrians in battle; but when he was engaged in the ſiege of Nineveh, he was ſurprized by an army of Scythians, commanded by Madyas, ſon of Protothyas. Having expelled the Cimmerians [147] from Europe, the Scythians had found their way into Aſia, and, continuing to purſue the fugitives, had arrived at the territories of the Medes.

CIV. From the lake Mœotis an expeditious traveller may paſs to the river Phaſis [148] amongſt the

[147] *Cimmerians.*]—The hiſtory of the Scythians is remarkably obſcure. Juſtin, ſpeaking of the incurſions of this people into Aſia, ſometimes coincides with Herodotus, at others materially contradicts him. Strabo makes a ſlight mention of this expedition of Madyas: but I am ignorant by what authority he makes him king of the Cimmerians; I ſhould rather think a miſtake has been here made by ſome copyiſt.—*Larcher.*

[148] *Phaſis.*]—This country has been at all times a nurſery for ſlaves: it furniſhed the Greeks, Romans, and ancient Aſia, with them.

the Colchians, in the ſpace of thirty days: it requires leſs time to paſs from Colchis into Media, which are only ſeparated by the nation of the Saſpirians. The Scythians, however, did not come by this way but, leaving mount Caucaſus on their right, paſſed through the high country by a much longer rout. Here they met with the Medes, who, in a fixed battle, loſt not only the victory, but the empire of Aſia.

CV. The Scythians having obtained the entire poſſeſſion of Aſia, advanced towards Ægypt. Pſammitichus, king of Ægypt, met them in Paleſtine of Syria, and, by preſents and importunity united, prevailed on them to return. The Scythians, on their march homewards, came to Aſcalon, a Syrian city: the greater part of their body paſſed through without moleſting it; but ſome of them remaining behind, plundered the temple of the celeſtial Venus. Of all the ſacred buildings erected to this goddeſs, this, according to my authorities, was far the moſt ancient [149]. The Cyprians themſelves acknowledge, that their temple was built after the model of this, and that of Cythera was conſtructed by certain Phœnicians,

them. But is it not extraordinary to read in Herodotus, that formerly Colchis, now called Georgia, received black inhabitants from Ægypt, and to ſee the ſame country at this day make ſo different a return?—*Volney.*

[149] *Far the moſt ancient.*]—Pauſanias ſays, that the Aſſyrians were the firſt who worſhipped Venus Urania. He adds, that the inhabitants of Paphos in Cyprus, and the Phœnicians of Paleſtine, received this worſhip from them, and afterwards communicated it to the people of Cythera.—*Weſſeling.*

Phœnicians, who came from this part of Syria. Upon the Scythians who plundered this temple, and indeed upon all their posterity, the deity entailed a fatal punishment: they were afflicted with the female disease [150]. The Scythians themselves confess, that

[150] *Female disease.*]—No passage of Herodotus has been the occasion of more doubt and dispute than this. The President Bouhier (Dissertat. sur l'Histoire d'Herodote, c. 20.) enumerates these six different opinions, and decides in favour of the last. —Some suppose the female disease to be languor, weakness, and impotence; others, a delicate and effeminate way of living; others, the hemorrhoids; others, the disease now known by the name of venereal; others, the catamenia, τα γυναικεῖα; and others, the vice against nature. Larcher refutes Bouhier, but without seeming to have established any opinion of his own. It is probable that he never saw a dissertation of Professor Chr. Gott. Heyne, in the Commentationes Societatis Reg. Gotting. anni M.DCC.L. xx. & T. II. p. 28—44. who proposes another explanation of our author, which has perhaps a fairer chance of success than any of the rest. He takes it for granted, after Mercurialis and Wesseling, that Herodotus and Hippocrates speak of the same thing. He then separates the facts which these authors state, from the superstition of the one, and the ill-founded science or systematic prejudices of the other. From these facts, illustrated by a comparison with the narrations of modern travellers, he draws this conclusion: That the disease called by Herodotus the female disease, was of that kind which proceeds from a melancholic, hysteric, or other nervous affection; in consequence of which a perturbation of the intellect takes place. Among barbarous nations, ignorant of the powers and operations of nature, those disorders whose cause and cure were unknown, it was natural to attribute to divine influence; and the patients finding themselves suddenly and unaccountably bereft of strength, of vigour, and of spirits, might be easily persuaded, by these symptoms, that the displeasure of a deity had inflicted this punishment, and, for some crime or other, had changed them into

that their countrymen ſuffer this malady in conſequence of the above crime: their condition alſo may be ſeen by thoſe who viſit Scythia, where they are called Enareæ.

CVI. After poſſeſſing the dominion of Aſia for a ſpace of twenty-eight years, the Scythians loſt all they had obtained, by their licentiouſneſs and neglect. The extravagance of their public extortions could only be equalled by the rapacity with which they plundered individuals. At a feaſt, to which they were invited by Cyaxares and the Medes, the greater

into women. A ſimilar effect of a diſtempered mind has been common in all ages. Many perſons believe themſelves tranſformed into animals or other ſubſtances; and while they are ſubject to this illuſion, talk, reaſon, and act conformably to ſuch belief. If, therefore, this diſeaſe appeared chiefly amongſt thoſe Scythians who plundered the temple of Venus, it might be ſufficient ground for the Scythians themſelves to refer ſuch a calamity to the diſpleaſure of a deity; and the nature of the puniſhment, as well as the conſciouſneſs of their crime, would readily point out Venus for the offended power. If the diſeaſe appeared ſoon after the plunder of the temple, it might be ſufficient ground for an author not quite free from ſuperſtition and credulity, to ſet it down as a judgment from Heaven upon the offenders. Whether the expreſſion in Hippocrates, of τα γυναικηια εργαζονται, ought to be underſtood in a good or in a bad ſenſe, may perhaps admit of a doubt; however, either ſenſe will equally ſuit the foregoing explanation. It is perfectly natural, and indeed almoſt neceſſary, that males who fancy themſelves women, ſhould take the dreſs, adopt the language and manners, and perform the offices of the other ſex: nor would it be at all inconſiſtent with their ſuppoſed transformation, that they ſhould think it their duty to be the paſſive inſtruments of what would to them ſeem natural deſire.—*T.*

part of them were cut off when in a ſtate of intoxication. The Medes thus recovered their poſſeſſions, and all their ancient importance; after which they took Nineveh; the particulars of which incident I ſhall hereafter relate [151]. They moreover ſubdued the Aſſyrians, thoſe only excepted which inhabited the Babylonian diſtrict. Cyaxares reigned forty years, and then died; but in this period is to be included the time in which the Scythians poſſeſſed the empire.

CVII. His ſon Aſtyages ſucceeded to the throne: he had a daughter whom he called Mandane; ſhe, in a dream, appeared to make ſo great a quantity of urine [152], that not only his principal city, but all Aſia, was overflowed. The purport of this viſion, when explained in each particular by the magi, the uſual interpreters, terrified him exceedingly. Under this impreſſion, he refuſed to marry his daughter, when ſhe arrived at a ſuitable age, to any Mede whoſe rank juſtified pretenſions to her. He choſe rather

[151] *Hereafter relate.*]—This is one of the paſſages cited to prove that Herodotus wrote other works which are not come down to us. The inveſtigation of this matter has greatly perplexed and divided the literary world. It is diſcuſſed at conſiderable length by Bouhier and by Larcher, to whoſe ſeveral works we beg leave to refer thoſe who wiſh to know more of a queſtion which can involve no great intereſt to an Engliſh reader. —*T.*

[152] *Quantity of, &c.*]—Voltaire has ſtarted ſome objections to this paſſage of Herodotus; to which my anſwer may be ſeen in the Supplement to the Philoſophy of Hiſtory, page 79, &c. of the firſt edition; page 104, &c. of the ſecond.—*Larcher.*

to give her to Cambyſes, a Perſian, whom he ſelected as being of a reſpectable family, but of a very pacific diſpoſition, though inferior in his eſtimation to the loweſt of the Medes.

CVIII. The firſt year after the marriage of his daughter, Aſtyages ſaw another viſion. A vine appeared to ſpring from the womb of his daughter, which overſpread all Aſia. Upon this occaſion alſo he conſulted his interpreters: the reſult was, that he ſent for his daughter from Perſia, when the time of her delivery approached. On her arrival, he kept a ſtrict watch over her, intending to deſtroy her child. The magi had declared the viſion to intimate, that the child of his daughter ſhould ſupplant him on his throne. Aſtyages, to guard againſt this, as ſoon as Cyrus was born, ſent for Harpagus, a perſon whoſe intimacy he uſed, upon whoſe confidence he depended, and who indeed had the management of all his affairs. He addreſſed him as follows: "Harpagus, I am about to uſe you in a buſineſs, in which if you either abuſe my confidence, or employ others to do what I am anxious you ſhould do yourſelf, you will infallibly lament the conſequence. You muſt take the boy of whom Mandane has been delivered, remove him to your own houſe, and put him to death: you will afterwards bury him as you ſhall think proper." "Sir," he replied, "you have hitherto never had occaſion to cenſure my conduct; neither ſhall my future behaviour give you cauſe of offence: if the accompliſhment of this matter be eſſential to your peace, it becomes me to be faithful and obedient."

CIX. On this reply of Harpagus the infant was delivered to his arms in rich apparel, and consigned to destruction. Returning home, he sought with tears the presence of his wife, to whom he related his conference with Astyages. When she enquired what it was his intention to do; "By no means," he answered, "the deed which Astyages enjoins. If he become still more infatuated, more mad than he at present appears, I will not comply with his desires, nor be accessary to this murder. The child is my relation; Astyages is old, and has no male offspring: if, at his decease, the sovereign authority shall descend to this daughter, whose child he orders me to destroy, what extreme danger shall I not incur? It is expedient nevertheless, for my security, that the child should die, not however by the hands of any of my family, but by some other of his servants."

CX. He instantly sent for a herdsman belonging to Astyages, who, as he knew, pursued his occupation in a place adapted to the purpose, amongst mountains frequented by savage beasts. His name was Mitridates; his wife and fellow-servant was, in the Greek tongue, called Cyno, by the Medes Spaco[153]; and Spaca is the name by which the

[153] *Spaco.*]—It is not certain whether the dialect of the Medes and Persians was the same. In such remains as we have of the Persian language, Burton and Reland have not been able to discover any term like this. Nevertheless Lefevre assures us, that the Hyrcanians, a people in subjection to the Persians, call, even at the present time, a dog by the word Spac.—*Larcher.*

Medes call a bitch. The place which he frequented with his herds was the foot of thofe mountains which lay to the north of Ecbatane, near the Euxine. This part of Media, towards the Safpires, is high and mountainous, and abounding with forefts; the reft of the country is a fpacious plain. As foon as he arrived in his prefence, Harpagus thus addreffed him: "Aftyages commands you to take this infant [154], and expofe him in the moft unfrequented part of the mountains, that his death may be fpeedy and unavoidable. I am farther ordered to affure you, that if you evade this injunction, and are by any means acceffary to his prefervation, you muft expect torture and death. I am myfelf commanded to fee the child expofed."

CXI. When the herdfman had received his orders, he took the child, and returned to his cottage. His wife, who had been in labour all the preceding part of the day, was providentially delivered in his abfence. Both had been in a ftate of folicitude: the fituation of his wife gave alarm to the hufband; and the woman, on her part, feared for him, from the unufual circumftance of his being fent for to Harpagus. His return was fudden and unexpected,

[154] *Take this infant, &c.*]—Various paffages in this part of our work will neceffarily bring to the mind of our reader the Winter's Tale of Shakefpeare. The fpeech of the king to Antigonus minutely refembles this:

Take it up ftraight.
Within this hour bring me word 'tis done,
And by good teftimony, or I'll feize thy life, &c.—*T.*

and his wife discovered much anxiety to know why Harpagus had sent for him in such haste. "As soon," says he, "as I got into the city, I both saw and heard what I could wish had never befallen the families of our masters: I found the house of Harpagus in extreme affliction; entering which with the greatest terror, I saw an infant panting and screaming on the ground, dressed in rich and splendid cloathing. Harpagus, the moment he saw me, commanded me to take the child, and, without any hesitation, expose it on such part of our mountains as is most frequented by wild beasts; telling me, moreover, that Astyages himself had assigned this office to me, and threatening the severest punishment in case of disobedience. I took the child, conceiving it to belong to one of the domestics, never supposing who it really was. The richness, however, of its dress excited my astonishment, which was increased by the sorrow that prevailed in the family of Harpagus. But, on my return, the servant who, conducting me out of the city, gave the infant to my hand, explained each particular circumstance. He informed me, that it is the offspring of Mandane, the daughter of Astyages, and of Cambyses, son of Cyrus. This is the infant whose death Astyages commands."

CXII. The herdsman finished, and produced the child to his wife. Struck with his appearance of beauty and of strength, she embraced the knees of her husband, and conjured him not to expose the child. He observed, that it was impossible to

comply

comply with her requeſt, as Harpagus would ſend to ſee that his orders were executed, and had menaced him with a moſt cruel death if he failed in his obedience. The woman not ſucceeding by this, took another method: "Since," ſhe replied, "you are determined in your purpoſe, and there will be witneſſes to ſee that the child is in reality expoſed, attend to what I propoſe: I have been delivered of a dead child; let this be expoſed, and let us preſerve and bring up the grandchild of Aſtyages as our own. You will thus appear faithful to your ſuperiors, without any injury to ourſelves; the child which is dead will be honoured with a ſumptuous funeral, and that which ſurvives will be preſerved."

CXIII. The man approved of the pertinent propoſal of his wife, with which he immediately complied. The infant, whom he was to have deſtroyed, he gave to the care of his wife: his own child, which was dead, he placed in the cradle in which the other had been brought, dreſſed it in the others coſtly cloathing, and expoſed it on a deſert mountain. After three days, he left one of his domeſtics to guard the body, and went again to the houſe of Harpagus in the city, ſignifying himſelf ready to ſhew that the child was dead. Harpagus ſent ſome upon whoſe fidelity he could depend, to examine into the matter: they confirmed the report of the herdſman, and the child was buried. The herdſman's child was thus interred; the other, who was afterwards called Cyrus, was brought up carefully

by the wife of the herdſman, and called by ſome other name.

CXIV. When he arrived at the age of ten years, the following accident diſcovered who he was:— He was playing in the village, where were the herds of his ſuppoſed father, with other boys of the ſame age with himſelf. Though reputed to be the ſon of the herdſman, his play-mates choſe him for their king. He, in conſequence, aſſigned them their different ſtations: ſome were to ſuperintend buildings, others were to be guards; one was to be his principal miniſter, another his maſter of the ceremonies; and each had his particular office. Among theſe children happened to be the ſon of Artembaris, who was a Mede of conſiderable diſtinction. He, refuſing to obey the commands of Cyrus, was, at his orders, ſeized by his playfellows, and ſeverely beaten. The pride of the boy was vehemently offended; and the moment he was at liberty, he haſtened to the city to inform his father how much he had ſuffered from the inſolence of Cyrus. He did not indeed call him Cyrus, which was not then his name; but he deſcribed him as the ſon of the herdſman of Aſtyages. Artembaris went immediately in great rage to Aſtyages, taking his ſon with him. He complained of the indignity which had been offered, and ſhewed what marks of violence his ſon had received. "Thus, Sir," ſays he, "have we been inſulted by the ſon of a herdſman, your ſlave."

CXV. Aſtyages, on receiving this complaint, which he obſerved to be juſtly founded, was anxious to puniſh the inſult which Artembaris had received; he accordingly ſent for the herdſman and his reputed child. On their appearance, Aſtyages, looking at Cyrus, "Do you," ſays he, "meanly deſcended as you are, dare to inflict ſtripes on the ſon of one of my nobles?" "My lord," ſays he, in reply, "what I have done I am able to juſtify; the boys among whom I live, and this with the reſt, did, in play, elect me their king, becauſe, as I ſuppoſe, I ſeemed to them the moſt proper for this ſituation. Our other playfellows obeyed my commands; this boy refuſed, and was puniſhed: if on this account you deem me worthy of chaſtiſement, I am here to receive it [155]."

CXVI. As ſoon as the boy had ſpoken, Aſtyages conjectured who he was; every thing concurred to confirm his ſuſpicions; his reſemblance of himſelf, his ingenuous countenance and manners, and the ſeeming correſpondence of his age. Struck by the force of theſe incidents, Aſtyages was a long time ſilent. He recovered himſelf with difficulty, and wiſhing to diſmiſs Artembaris, for the purpoſe of examining the herdſman without witneſſes, "Artembaris," ſaid he, "I will take care that neither you nor your ſon ſhall have juſt reaſon of complaint." When Artembaris retired, Cyrus was

[155] None of theſe particulars of the early life of Cyrus, previous to his being ſent to his parents in Perſia, are related by Xenophon.—*T.*

conducted

conducted by attendants into ſome inner room, and the herdſman being left alone with the king, was ſtrictly interrogated whence and from whom he had the child. He replied, that he was his own child, and that his mother was yet alive; Aſtyages told him, that his indiſcretion would only involve him in greater dangers. Saying this, he ordered his guards to ſeize him. Reduced to this extremity, he explained every particular of the buſineſs; and concluded with earneſt intreaties for mercy and forgiveneſs.

CXVII. Aſtyages, convinced that his herdſman had ſpoken the truth, felt but little with reſpect to him; but he was violently incenſed againſt Harpagus, whom he ſent for to his preſence. As ſoon as he appeared, "Harpagus," ſaid he, "by what kind of death did you deſtroy the ſon of my daughter?" Harpagus ſaw the herdſman preſent, and was therefore conſcious, that unleſs he ſpoke the truth he ſhould be certainly detected. "Sir," he replied, "as ſoon as I received the infant, I revolved in my mind the beſt method of ſatisfying your wiſhes, and of preſerving myſelf innocent of the crime of murder, both with reſpect to your daughter and yourſelf: I determined, therefore, to ſend for this herdſman, and delivering to him the child, I informed him that it was your command that he ſhould put him to death; in this I uſed no falſhood, for ſuch were your commands. I farther enjoined him to expoſe the infant on a deſert mountain, and to be himſelf the witneſs of his death, threatening

him with the ſevereſt puniſhment in caſe of diſobedience. When he had fulfilled his commiſſion, and the child was dead, I ſent ſome of my confidential eunuchs to witneſs the fact, and to bury the body. This, ſir, is the real truth, and the child was thus deſtroyed."

CXVIII. Harpagus related the fact without prevarication; but Aſtyages, diſſembling the anger which he really felt, informed him of the confeſſion of the herdſman; and finiſhed his narration in theſe words, "The child is alive, and all is well: I was much afflicted concerning the fate of the boy, and but ill could bear the reproaches of my daughter. But as the matter has turned out well, you muſt ſend your ſon to our young ſtranger, and attend me yourſelf at ſupper. I have determined, in gratitude for the child's preſervation, to celebrate a feſtival in honour of thoſe deities who interpoſed to ſave him."

CXIX. Harpagus, on hearing this, made his obeiſance to the king, and returned chearfully to his houſe, happy in the reflection that he was not only not puniſhed for his diſobedience, but honoured by an invitation to the royal feſtival. As ſoon as he arrived at his houſe, he haſtily called for his only ſon, a boy of about thirteen, ordering him to haſten to the palace of Aſtyages, and to comply with whatever was commanded him. He then related to his wife, with much exultation, all that had happened. As ſoon as the boy arrived, Aſtyages commanded

commanded him to be cut in pieces, and some part of his flesh to be roasted, another part boiled, and the whole made ready to be served at table. At the hour of supper, among other guests, Harpagus also attended. Before the rest, as well as before Astyages himself, dishes of mutton were placed, but to Harpagus all the body of his son was served, except the head and the extremities, which were kept apart in a covered basket. After he seemed well satisfied with what he had eaten, Astyages asked him how he liked his fare: Harpagus expressing himself greatly delighted, the attendants brought him the basket which contained the head and extremities of his child, and desired him to help himself to what he thought proper. Harpagus complied, uncovered the vessel, and beheld the remains of his son[156]. He continued, however, master of himself, and discovered no unusual emotions. When Astyages enquired if he knew of what flesh and of what wild beast he had eaten, he acknowledged that he did, and that the king's will was always pleasing to him[157]. Saying this, he took

[156] *The remains of his son.*]—A similar example of revenge occurs in Titus Andronicus.

Titus. Why, there they are, both baked in that pie,
Whereof their mother daintily hath fed;
Eating the flesh that she herself hath bred.—*T.*

For other instances of similar barbarity, see H. Stevens's Apology for Herodotus, chap. 19, de la Cruauté de nostre Siecle.—*T.*

[157] *Pleasing to him.*]—This reply of Harpagus, worthy of a servile courtier, brings to mind one of an English nobleman no less despicable. Edgar, king of England, having killed Ethelwold,

took the remnants of the body, and returned to his houſe, meaning, as I ſhould ſuppoſe, to bury them together.

CXX. Aſtyages thus revenged himſelf upon Harpagus; but deliberating about the deſtiny of Cyrus, he ſent for the magi who had before interpreted his dreams. On their appearance, he requeſted to know their ſentiments of the viſion he had formerly explained to them. They perſevered in their former declaration, that if the boy ſurvived he would infallibly be king. "The boy is alive and well," returned Aſtyages: "the children of the village where he lived elected him their king, and he has actually performed all the eſſential duties of the regal office. He appointed his guards, his meſſengers, and different attendants, and in all reſpects exerciſed kingly authority: concerning this, what do you determine?" "If," anſwered the magi, "the boy really ſurvives, and has reigned as a monarch, in the accidental manner you deſcribe, rely upon this, and diſſipate your fears; depend upon it he will reign no more: things of trifling moment frequently accompliſh what we ſeriouſly foretel, and dreams in particular will often prove of little or no importance." "I confeſs," replied Aſtyages, "that

wold, in the foreſt of Harewood, the ſon of that nobleman arrived ſoon afterwards on the ſpot; the king, ſhewing him the body of his father, aſked him, how he found the game? The young man replied with perfect indifference, "That whatever was agreeable to the prince, could not poſſibly diſpleaſe him." The above anecdote is related by Larcher from William of Malmeſbury.

I am

I am of the ſame opinion; the boy having been nominally a king, has fulfilled the purport of my dream, and I need alarm myſelf no more about him. Do not you, however, remit your aſſiduity, but conſult both for my ſecurity and your own." "Sir," anſwered the magi, "it is of particular importance to us, that your authority ſhould continue, it might otherwiſe deſcend to this boy, who is a Perſian; in that caſe we, who are Medes, ſhall be reduced to ſervitude; the Perſians would deſpiſe us as foreigners; but whilſt you, who are our countryman, reign over us, we enjoy ſome degree of authority ourſelves, independant of the honours we receive from you. For theſe reaſons we are particularly bound to conſult for your ſafety, and the permanence of your power. If any thing excited our apprehenſions of the future, we would certainly diſcloſe it: but as your dream has had this trifling termination, we feel great confidence ourſelves, and recommend you to ſend the child from your preſence to his parents in Perſia.

CXXI. On hearing this Aſtyages was rejoiced; and ſending for Cyrus, "My child," ſaid he, "I was formerly induced, by the crude repreſentation of a dream, to treat you injuriouſly, but your better genius preſerved you. Go, therefore, in peace to Perſia, whither I ſhall ſend proper perſons to conduct you; there you will ſee your parents, who are of a very different rank from the herdſman Mitridates and his wife."

CXXII. Aſtyages having thus ſpoken, ſent Cyrus away; on his being reſtored to the houſe of his parents, they, who had long ſince thought him dead, received him with tenderneſs and tranſport. They enquired by what means he had been preſerved; he told them in reply, that he was entirely ignorant of his birth, and had been involved in much perplexity, but that every thing had been explained to him on his journey to them. He had really believed himſelf the ſon of the herdſman of Aſtyages, before his conductors explained to him the particulars of his fortune. He related with what tenderneſs he had been brought up by the wife of the herdſman, whoſe name, Cyno, he often repeated with the warmeſt praiſe. The circumſtance of her name his parents laid hold of to perſuade the Perſians that Providence had, in a particular manner, interpoſed to ſave Cyrus, who, when expoſed, had been preſerved and nouriſhed by a bitch [158]—which opinion afterwards prevailed.

CXXIII. As Cyrus grew up, he excelled all the young men in ſtrength and gracefulneſs of perſon [159]. Harpagus, who was anxious to be revenged on Aſtyages, was conſtantly endeavouring to gain an intereſt with him, by making him preſents. In his own private ſituation, he could have but

[158] *By a bitch, &c.*]—The ſtory of Romulus, Remus, and the wolf, involves many circumſtances ſimilar to theſe related of Cyrus.—*T.*

[159] *Gracefulneſs of perſon.*]—The beauty and gracefulneſs of Cyrus, is particularly, and with much energy, repreſented by Xenophon.—*T.*

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little hope of obtaining the vengeance he desired; but seeing Cyrus a man, and one whose fortunes bore some resemblance to his own, he much attached himself to him. He had, some time before, taken the following measure:—Astyages having treated the Medes with great asperity, Harpagus took care to communicate with the men of the greatest consequence among them, endeavouring, by his insinuations, to promote the elevation of Cyrus, and the deposition of his master. Having thus prepared the way, he contrived the following method of acquainting Cyrus in Persia with his own private sentiments, and the state of affairs. The communication betwixt the two countries being strictly guarded, he took a hare, opened its paunch, in which he inserted a letter, containing the information he wished to give, and then dextrously sewed it up again. The hare, with some hunting nets, he entrusted to one of his servants of the chace, upon whom he could depend. The man was sent into Persia, and ordered to deliver the hare to Cyrus himself, who was entreated to open it with his own hands, and without witnesses.

CXXIV. The man executed his commission; Cyrus received the hare, which having opened as directed, he found a letter to the following purport, "Son of Cambyses, heaven evidently favours you, or you never could have risen thus superior to fortune. Astyages meditated your death, and is a just object of your vengeance; he certainly determined that you should perish; the gods and my

humanity

humanity preſerved you. With the incidents of your life I believe you are acquainted, as well as with the injuries which I have received from Aſtyages, for delivering you to the herdſman, inſtead of putting you to death. Liſten but to me, and the authority and dominions of Aſtyages ſhall be yours: having prevailed on the Perſians to revolt, undertake an expedition againſt the Medes. If I ſhall be appointed by Aſtyages the leader of the forces which oppoſe you, our object will be inſtantly accompliſhed, which I may alſo venture to affirm of each of our firſt nobility; they are already favourable to your cauſe, and wait but the opportuniry of revolting from Aſtyages. All things being thus prepared, execute what I adviſe without delay."

CXXV. Cyrus, on receiving this intelligence, revolved in his mind what would be the moſt effectual means of prevailing on the Perſians to revolt. After much deliberation, he determined on the following ſtratagem: He dictated the terms of a public letter, and called an aſſembly of his countrymen. Here it was produced and read, and it appeared to contain his appointment by Aſtyages to be general of the Perſians: "And now, oh Perſians," he exclaimed, "I muſt expect each of you to attend me with an hatchet." This command he iſſued aloud to the Perſians, of whom there are various tribes. Of thoſe whom Cyrus aſſembled, and perſuaded to revolt from the Medes, the following are the principal: The Arteatæ, the Perſæ, Paſar-

gadæ, Maraphii, and Maspians: Of these the Pasargadæ are the most considerable; the Achæmenidæ are those from whom the Persian monarchs are descended. The Panthialæi, Derusiæi, and Germanians[160], follow laborious employments; the Dai, Mardi, Dropici, and Sagartians, are feeders of cattle.

CXXVI. They all assembled in the manner they were commanded, and Cyrus directed them to clear, in the space of a day, a certain woody enclosure, which was eighteen or twenty furlongs in extent. When they had executed their task, they were desired to attend the following day to feast and make merry. For this purpose Cyrus collected and slew all the goats, sheep, and oxen, which were the property of his father; and further to promote the entertainment of the Persians he added rich wines and abundance of delicacies. The next day, when they were met, he desired them to recline on the grass and enjoy themselves. When they were satisfied, he enquired of them which day's fare delighted them the most: They replied, the contrast betwixt the two was strong indeed, as on the first day they had nothing but what was bad, on the second every thing that was good. On

160 *Germanians.*]—The Germanians are the same as the Caramanians. Some authors affirm the ancient Germans to have been descended from this people. Cluvier has with much politeness explained their mistake. "But," adds M. Wesseling, "there are some individuals of such wayward tempers, who, since the discovery of corn, still prefer the feeding upon acorns."—*Larcher.*

receiving

receiving this anſwer, Cyrus no longer heſitated to explain the purpoſe which he had in view: "Men of Perſia," he exclaimed, "you are the arbiters of your own fortune; if you obey me, you will enjoy theſe and greater advantages, without any ſervile toils: if you are hoſtile to my projects, you muſt prepare to encounter worſe hardſhips than thoſe of yeſterday. My voice is the voice of freedom; Providence appears to have reſerved me to be the inſtrument of your proſperity; you are, doubtleſs, equal to the Medes in every thing, and moſt aſſuredly are as brave: this being the caſe, decline all future obedience to Aſtyages."

CXXVII. The Perſians, who had long ſpurned at the yoke impoſed on them by the Medes, were glad of ſuch a leader, and ardently obeyed the call of liberty. Aſtyages was ſoon informed of the proceedings of Cyrus, and commanded his attendance. He returned for anſwer, that he ſhould probably anticipate the wiſh of Aſtyages to ſee him. Aſtyages upon this collected his Medes, and, urged by ſome fatal impulſe, appointed Harpagus to command his forces, not remembering the injury he formerly had done him. His army was embodied, the Medes met and engaged the Perſians; they who were not privy to the plot fought with valour, the reſt went over to the Perſians; the greater part diſcovered no inclination to continue the combat, and haſtily retreated.

CXXVIII. Aſtyages hearing of the ignominious

defeat of his army, continued to menace Cyrus; and exclaimed, that he ſhould ſtill have no reaſon to exult. The firſt thing he did was to crucify the magi[161], the interpreters of dreams, who had prevailed upon him to ſend Cyrus away. He then armed all his citizens, young and old, without diſtinction. He led them againſt the Perſians, and was vanquiſhed[162]: he himſelf was taken priſoner, and the greater part of his army deſtroyed.

CXXIX. In his captivity Harpagus was preſent to inſult and reproach him. Among other things, he aſked him what was his opinion of that ſupper, in which he had compelled a father to feed on the fleſh of his child, a ſupper which had reduced him from a monarch to a ſlave. In reply, Aſtyages requeſted to know if he imputed to himſelf the ſucceſs of Cyrus? He confeſſed that he did, explained the means, and juſtified his conduct. Aſtyages told him, that he was then the moſt fooliſh and wicked of mankind;—moſt fooliſh, in acquiring for another the authority he might have enjoyed himſelf; moſt wicked, for reducing his countrymen to ſervitude, to gratify his private revenge.

161 *Crucify the magi.*]—It appears from the ſacred writings, that when the magi either were not able to interpret dreams or explain difficulties to the ſatisfaction of their tyrant maſters, they were with little compunction condemned to die. See in particular the book of Daniel. The cruelty of Aſtyages is ſpoken of by Diodorus Siculus, in his book de virtutibus & vitiis.—*T.*

162 *Was vanquiſhed.*]—Xenophon repreſents Cyrus as ſucceeding of courſe, and without any hoſtilities, to the throne of Aſtyages.—*T.*

venge. If he thought a change in the government really neceſſary, and was ſtill determined not to aſſume the ſupreme authority himſelf, juſtice ſhould have induced him to have elevated a Mede to that honour, rather than a Perſian. The Medes, who were certainly not acceſſary to the provocation given, had exchanged ſituations with their ſervants; the Perſians, who were formerly the ſervants, were now the maſters.

CXXX. After a reign of thirty-five years, Aſtyages was thus depoſed. To his aſperity of temper the Medes owed the loſs of their power, after poſſeſſing, for the ſpace of one hundred and twenty-eight years, all that part of Aſia which lies beyond the Halys, deducting from this period the ſhort interval of the Scythian dominion. In ſucceeding times, from a diſdain of their abaſed ſituation, they took up arms againſt Darius; their attempt proved unſucceſsful, and they were a ſecond time reduced to ſervitude. From this period the Perſians, who, under the conduct of Cyrus, had ſhaken off the power of the Medes, remained in undiſturbed poſſeſſion of Aſia. Cyrus detained Aſtyages in captivity for the remainder of his life, but in no other inſtance [163] treated him with ſeverity.—Such is the hiſtory of the birth, education, and ſucceſs of Cyrus. He afterwards, as we have before related, ſubdued

163 *But in no other inſtance, &c.*]—Iſocrates, in his funeral oration upon Evagoras, king of Salamis, in Cyprus, ſays, that Cyrus put Aſtyages to death. I do not find that this fact has been aſſerted by any other author.—*Larcher.*

Crœſus, who had attacked him unprovoked; from which time he remained without competition ſovereign of Aſia.

CXXXI. My attention to the ſubject has enabled me to make the following obſervations on the manners and cuſtoms of the Perſians. They have among them neither ſtatues [164], temples [165], nor altars [166]; the uſe of which they cenſure as impious, and a groſs violation of reaſon, probably becauſe, in oppoſition to the Greeks, they do not believe that the gods partake of our human nature [167].

164 *Neither ſtatues.*]—It is proper to remark here, that the more ancient nations were not worſhippers of images. Lucian tells us, that the ancient Ægyptians had no ſtatues in their temples. According to Euſebius, the Greeks were not worſhippers of images before the time of Cecrops, who firſt of all erected a ſtatue to Minerva. And Plutarch tells us, that Numa forbad the Romans to repreſent the deity under the form of a man or an animal; and for ſeventy years this people had not in their temples any ſtatue or painting of the deity.—*Larcher.*

165 *Temples.*]—I am not of opinion with the Perſian magi, at whoſe inſtigation Xerxes burned the temples of the Greeks, becauſe they confined their deities by walls, who ought to be free from every kind of reſtraint, and whoſe temple and reſidence was the univerſe itſelf.—*Cicero.*

166 *Nor altars.*]—The theology of Zoroaſter was darkly comprehended by foreigners, and even by the far greater number of his diſciples; but the moſt careleſs obſervers were ſtruck with the philoſophic ſimplicity of the Perſian worſhip.—*Gibbon.*

167 *Human nature.*]—That the gods often appeared in a human ſhape, is taken for granted by Pauſanius, in Arcad. and Plutarch de Muſica. The ſame opinion was firmly maintained by Julian, an orthodox pagan in a later age.—*Gillies.*

Their cuſtom is, to offer, from the ſummits of the higheſt mountains [168], ſacrifices to Jove, diſtinguiſhing by that appellation all the expanſe of the firmament. They alſo adore the ſun [169], the moon, earth, fire [170], water, and the winds; which may be termed their original deities. In after-times, from the example of the Aſſyrians and Arabians, they added Urania* to this number. The name of the Aſſyrian Venus is Mylitta, whom the Arabians call Alitta, and the Perſians Mithra.

CXXXII. Their mode of paying their devotions

168 *Summits of the higheſt mountains.*]—Van Dale remarks, that the oracular temples were, for the moſt part, ſituated in mountainous places. The ſcriptures alſo intimate, that mountains and high places were choſen as the propereſt theatres for the diſplay of religious enthuſiaſm. See Deuteronomy, chap. xii. ver. 2. 3. Ye ſhall utterly deſtroy the places wherein the nations ſerved their gods, upon the high mountains, and upon the hills, and under every green tree, &c. &c.—*T.*

169 *Sun—fire.*]—The worſhip of the ancient Perſians had unqueſtionably been very early corrupted. The reverence paid to the ſun and to fire, which Zoroaſter appears to have conſidered merely as repreſentatives of omnipotence, the fountain of light, ſeems to have been an idea too refined for the groſs capacities of the vulgar, who, without regard to the great inviſible prototype, turned all their thoughts to the adoration of thoſe oſtenſible deities.—*Richardſon.*

170 *Fire.*]—The ancient Perſians durſt not, by their religion, extinguiſh fire with water; but endeavoured to ſmother it with earth, ſtones, or any thing ſimilar. This method would not ſoon extinguiſh a blazing foreſt. The Parſis of Guzerat are ſtill guided by the ſame hurtful ſuperſtition.—*The ſame.*

* *Urania.*]—That is, the Uranian or celeſtial Venus, not the muſe Urania.—*T.*

to the above-mentioned deities, confirmed by undeviating custom, is to sacrifice to them without altars or fire, libations or instrumental music, garlands or consecrated cakes; but every individual, as he wishes to sacrifice to any particular divinity, conducts his victim to a place made clean for the purpose, and makes his invocation or his prayers with a tiara encircled generally with myrtle. The supplicant is not permitted to implore blessings on himself alone [171], his whole nation, and particularly his sovereign, have a claim to his prayers, himself being necessarily comprehended with the rest. He proceeds to divide his victim [172] into several minute parts, which, when boiled, he places upon the most delicate verdure he can find, giving the preference to trefoil. When things are thus prepared, one of the magi, without whose presence no sacrifice is deemed lawful, stands up and chants the primæval origin of the gods, which they suppose to have a sacred and mysterious influence. The wor-

[171] *Not permitted to implore blessings on himself alone.*]—This noble sentiment is thus beautifully expressed by Pope:

> God loves from whole to parts, but human soul
> Must rise from individuals to the whole:
> Self-love but serves the virtuous mind to wake,
> As the small pebble stirs the peaceful lake;
> The centre mov'd, a circle straight succeeds,
> Another still, and still another spreads;
> Friend, parent, neighbour, first it will embrace,
> His country next, and next all human race.
>
> *Pope's Essays.*

[172] *Divide his victim.*]—The ceremony of the Persian sacrifice is related at length, but with some trifling variations, by Strabo.—*T.*

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fhipper after this takes with him, for his own ufe, fuch parts of the flefh as he thinks proper.

CXXXIII. Among all their feftivals each individual pays particular regard to his birth-day, when they indulge themfelves with better fare than ufual. The more rich among them prepare on this day an ox, a horfe, a camel, or an afs, which are roafted whole; the poorer fort are fatisfied with a lamb or a fheep: they eat but fparingly of meat, but are fond of the after difhes, which are feparately introduced. From hence the Perfians take occafion to fay, that the Grecians do not leave their tables fatisfied, having nothing good to induce them to continue there—if they had they would eat more. Of wine [173] they drink profufely: they may neither vomit nor make water before any one; which cuftoms they ftill obferve. They are accuftomed to deliberate on matters of the higheft moment when warm with wine; but whatever they in this fituation may determine is again propofed to them on the morrow, in their cooler moments, by the perfon in whofe houfe they had before affembled. If at this time alfo it meet their approbation, it is executed, otherwife it is rejected. Whatever, alfo,

173 *Of wine, &c.*]—In every age the Perfians have been addicted to intemperance; and the wines of Shiraz have triumphed over the law of Mahomet.—*Gibbon.* In contradiction to the above obfervation, it appears from Xenophon, that the Perfians, in the earlier period of their hiftory, were a temperate and fober people. But that, in the time of Herodotus, they drank profufely, is confirmed by Plato.—*T.*

they

they diſcuſs when ſober, is always a ſecond time examined after they have been drinking.

CXXXIV. If they meet at any time by accident, the rank of each party is eaſily diſcovered: if they are of equal dignity, they ſalute each other on the mouth; if one is an inferior, they only kiſs the cheek; if there be a great difference in ſituation, the inferior falls proſtrate on the ground [174]. They treat with moſt reſpect thoſe who live neareſt to them; as they become more and more remote, their eſteem of each other diminiſhes; for thoſe who live very diſtant from them they entertain not the ſmalleſt regard: eſteeming themſelves the moſt excellent of mankind, they think that the value of others muſt diminiſh in proportion to their diſtance. During the empire of the Medes, there was a regular gradation of authority; the Medes governed all as well as their neighbours, but theſe alſo were ſuperior to thoſe contiguous to them, who again held the next nation in ſubjection; which example the Perſians

[174] *Falls proſtrate on the ground.*]—Our countryman Sandys obſerves, that the modern mode of ſalutation betwixt equals in the Eaſt, is by laying the right hand on the boſom, and gently declining the body; but when a perſon of great rank is ſaluted, they bow to the ground, and kiſs the hem of his garment. Upon this ſubject conſult alſo Pocock and Shaw. The Syro-Phœnician woman fell at the feet of Jeſus. Quintus Curtius relates of Alexander the Great, that when he returned from the conqueſt of Aſia, he diſdained the manners of his country, and ſuffered thoſe who approached his perſon to lie proſtrate on the ground before him.—*T.*

followed

followed when their dominions became extended, and their authority encreased.

CXXXV. The Persians are of all men most inclined to adopt foreign manners: thinking the dress of the Medes more becoming than their own, they wear it in preference. They use also, in their armies, the Ægyptian breast-plate: they discover an ardour for all pleasures of which they have heard; a passion for boys [175] they learned from the Greeks, and each man has many wives, but many more concubines.

[175] *Passion for boys.*]—How, says Plutarch, in his discourse on the malignity of Herodotus, could the Persians possibly have learned this vice of the Greeks? It is universally acknowledged that the custom of castrating young men was common amongst the Persians, long before they visited the coasts of Greece.

Mr. Harmer, in his Observations on Passages of Scripture, has been at some pains to prove, that in all probability the plain upon which the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah stood, was somewhere in the south of Persia.

That this vice was of very great antiquity in Greece, appears from a passage of Phanocles, preserved in Stobæus, which informs us, that the Thracian women put Orpheus to death, on account of his unnatural passion for a young man of the name of Calais.

> Ille etiam Thracum populis fuit auctor, amorem
> In teneros transferre mares, citraque juventam
> Ætatis breve ver, et primos carpere flores.
>
> *Ovid. Met.* x. 83.

But the total silence of Homer may perhaps furnish a reasonable presumption against the antiquity of this detestable vice.—*T.*

CXXXVI.

CXXXVI. Next to valour in the field, a man is esteemed in proportion to the number of his offspring[176]; to him who has the greater number of children, the king every year sends presents; their national strength depending, as they suppose, on their numbers. From their fifth[177] to their twentieth year they instruct their children in three things only, the art of the bow, horsemanship[178], and a strict regard to truth. Till his fifth year a boy is kept in the female apartments, and not per-

176 *Number of his offspring.*]—A numerous posterity is, at the present day, the most fervent wish of the female inhabitants of Ægypt: Public respect is annexed to fruitfulness. This is even the prayer of the poor, who earns his bread by the sweat of his brow.—*Savary.*

Without any exaggeration, all the women of my acquaintance have twelve or thirteen children; and the old ones boast of having had five-and-twenty or thirty a-piece, and are respected according to the number they have produced.—*Letters of Lady M. W. Montague from Constantinople.*

Sterility is a reproach among the Orientals, and they still retain for fecundity all the esteem of ancient times.—*Volney.*

The same commendation of fertility seems to be implied in scripture, Judges, xii. 14, by the enumeration of Abdon's sons and grandsons.—*T.*

177 *From their fifth, &c.*]—This account of Persian education differs from that given by Xenophon.

178 *Horsemanship.*]—This, in the time of Cyrus, did not constitute a part of Persian education. The Persians, at that period, inhabiting a country mountainous, and without pasturage, could not breed horses; but as soon as they had conquered a country suitable to this purpose, they learned the art of horsemanship; and Cyrus made it be considered as a disgraceful thing, that any person to whom he had presented a horse should go any where on foot, even to the smallest distance.—*Larcher.*

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mitted to fee his father: the motive of which is, that if the child die before this period, his death may give no uneafinefs to the father.

CXXXVII. This cuftom appears commendable: I cannot but think highly of that cuftom alfo, which does not allow even the fovereign to put any one to death for a fingle offence; neither from any one provocation is a Perfian permitted to exercife extreme feverity in his family. Severity is there only lawful, when, after careful examination, the offences are found to exceed the merits. They will not believe that any one ever killed his parent; when fuch accidents have apparently happened, they affert their belief, that the child would, on enquiry, be found either to have been the produce of adultery, or fpurious; conceiving it altogether impoffible, that any real parent can be killed by his own offspring.

CXXXVIII. Whatever they may not act with impunity, they cannot mention without guilt. They hold falfhood in the greateft abhorrence [179]; next to which they efteem it difgraceful to be in debt, as well for other reafons, as for the temptations to falfhood [180], which they think it neceffarily introduces.

[179] *Falfhood in the greateft abhorrence.*]—The Perfians were not always fo fcrupulous about falfhood; fee Herodotus, Book iii. and lxxii.—*Larcher.*

[180] *Temptations to falfhood.*]—Blutarch, in his treatife concerning the contraction of debts, reprefents this differently. The Perfians, fays he, efteem falfhood as a fecondary crime, the firft is running in debt.—*T.*

duces. A leprous [181] Persian must neither enter the city, nor have communication with any of his countrymen; this disease they always think occasioned by some offence committed against the sun [182]. If a foreigner is afflicted with it, he is tumultuously expelled the country. They have also, for the same reason, an aversion to white pigeons. To all rivers [183] they pay extreme veneration; they will neither spit, wash their hands, nor evacuate in any of them; and a violation of this custom may not happen with impunity.

CXXXIX. They have one peculiarity, which,

181 *A leprous, &c.*]—Persons afflicted with leprosy are still kept secluded in many places of the East. See Niebuhr's description of Arabia.

See the Mosaical prohibition concerning lepers, Numbers, chap. v. ver. 4.—*T.*

182 *Against the sun.*]—When Æschines touched at Delos, on his way to Rhodes, the inhabitants of that island were greatly incommoded by a species of leprosy, called the white leprosy. They imputed it to the anger of Apollo, because, in contradiction to the custom of the place, they had interred there the body of a man of rank.—*Larcher.*

183 *To all rivers.*]—The ancient Cuthites, and the Persians after them, had a great veneration for fountains and streams, which also prevailed among other nations, so as to have been at one time almost universal. If these rivers were attended with any nitrous or saline quality, or with any fiery eruption, they were adjudged to be still more sacred.—*Bryant.*

What boots you now Scamander's worshipp'd stream,
His earthly honours, and immortal name?
In vain your immolated bulls are slain,
Your living coursers glut his gulphs in vain.

Pope, Il. xxi.

though

though they are not aware of it themſelves, is notorious to us; all thoſe words which are expreſſive of perſonal or of any other diſtinction, terminate in the Doric ſan, which is the ſame with the Ionian ſigma: and attentive obſervation will farther diſcover, that all the names of Perſians [184] end without exception alike.

CXL. The above remarks are delivered without heſitation, as being the reſult of my own poſitive knowledge. They have other cuſtoms, concerning which, as they are of a ſecret nature, I will not pretend to expreſs myſelf deciſively: as to what relates to their dead, I will not affirm it to be true, that theſe never are interred till ſome bird or dog has diſcovered a propenſity to prey on them. This, however, is unqueſtionably certain of the magi, who publicly obſerve this cuſtom. The Perſians firſt encloſe the dead body in wax [185], and afterwards place

[184] *Names of Perſians.*]—The language ſpoken anciently in Perſia, opens a wide field for unſatisfactory enquiry. Dr. Hyde derives it from that of Media; which is much the ſame as deducing one jargon of the Saxon heptarchy from another. The union of thoſe people named by Europeans the Medes and Perſians, is of ſuch high antiquity, that it is loſt in darkneſs, and long precedes every glimmering we can diſcover of the origin of their ſpeech.—*Richardſon on Eaſtern Nations.*

[185] *In wax.*]—Bodies thus encloſed continue perfect for ages. Some gentlemen of the ſociety of antiquaries being deſirous to ſee how far the actual ſtate of Edward the Firſt's body anſwered to the methods taken to preſerve it, by writs iſſued from time to time, in the reigns of Edward the Third and Henry the Fourth, to the treaſury, *to renew the wax about it*, obtained permiſſion

place it in the ground. Their magi are a distinct body of men, having many peculiarities, which distinguish them from others, and from the Ægyptian priests in particular. These last think it essential to their sanctity, to destroy no animals but the victims of sacrifice. The magi except a man and a dog, but put other animals without compunction to death. They even think it an action highly meritorious to destroy serpents, ants [186], and the different species of reptiles. After this digression, I return to my former subject.

CXLI.

permission to inspect it. It was found entire, May 2d 1774. The body must have been preserved above three centuries and a half, in the state in which it was then found.—*Annual Register* 1774.

The magi, for a long time, retained the exclusive privilege of having their bodies left as a prey to carnivorous animals. In succeeding times, the Persians abandoned all corpses indiscriminately to birds and beasts of prey.

This custom still in part continues; the place of burial of the Guebres, at the distance of half a league from Ispahan, is a round tower made of free-stone: it is thirty-five feet in height, and ninety in diameter, without gate or any kind of entrance; they ascend it by a ladder. In the midst of the tower is a kind of trench, into which the bones are thrown. The bodies are ranged along the wall in their proper cloaths, upon a small couch, with bottles of wine, &c. The ravens, which fill the cemetery, devour them.—*Chardin.*

[186] *Serpents, ants, &c.*]—This, says Larcher, is a precept of the Sadder. The learned Dr. Hyde considers the Sadder as fragments of the works of Zoroaster, the great Persian legislator. Upon this subject it may not be amiss to introduce the opinion of Mr. Richardson. The Sadder, says he, are the wretched rhymes of a modern Parsi destour [priest] who lived about three centuries ago. From this work, therefore, we

cannot

CXLI. The Ionians and Æolians, after the conqueſt of Lydia by the Perſians, immediately diſpatched ambaſſadors to Sardis, requeſting Cyrus to receive them under his allegiance, upon the terms which Crœſus formerly had granted them. Cyrus gave them audience, and made them the following reply: "A certain piper, obſerving ſome fiſhes ſporting in the ſea, began to play to them, in hopes that they would voluntarily throw themſelves on ſhore; diſappointed in his expectations, he threw his nets, encloſed a great number, and brought them to land; ſeeing them leap about, "You may be quiet now," ſays he, "as you refuſed to come out to me when I played to you."—Cyrus was induced to return this anſwer to the Ionians and Æolians, becauſe the Ionians had formerly diſregarded his ſolicitations to withdraw their aſſiſtance from Crœſus, refuſing all ſubmiſſion to Cyrus, till they were compelled by neceſſity to make it. This reply, therefore, of Cyrus was evidently dictated by reſentment; which, as ſoon as the Ionians had received, they fortified their towns, and aſſembled all of them at Panionium, except the Mileſians: Cyrus had received theſe into his alliance, upon the conditions which they had formerly enjoyed from Crœſus. The general determination of the Ionians, was to ſend ambaſſadors to Sparta,

cannot have even the glimpſe of an original tongue, nor any thing authentic of the genius of the law-giver.—*T.*

Chardin informs us, that the Guebres, or ancient fire-worſhippers of Perſia, deem it meritorious to put inſects of all kinds to death.—*T.*

who were in their common name to supplicate assistance.

CXLII. These Ionians, who are members of the Panionium, enjoy beyond all whom I have known purity of air [187] and beauty of situation; the country above and below them, as well as those parts which lie to the east and west, being in every respect less agreeable. Some of them are both cold and moist; others parched by the extremity of the heat. Their language possesses four several distinctions. Miletus [188] is their first city towards the south, next to which are Myus and Priene; all these are situate in Caria, and use the same language. In Lydia are the cities of Ephesus, Colophon, Lebedos, Teos, Clazomenæ, Phocæa, which have a dialect peculiar to themselves. There are three other cities properly called Ionian; two of these, Samos and Chios, are situated in islands; the other, Erythræ, is on the continent. The Chians and Erythræans speak alike; the Samian tongue is materially different.

187 *Purity of air.*]—These advantages of situation, and of climate, which the Ionians enjoyed, are enumerated by many ancient writers. This people, unable to defend themselves (says the Abbe Barthelemy) against the Persians, consoled themselves for the loss of their liberties in the bosom of voluptuousness and the cultivation of the arts.—*T.*

188 *Miletus, &c.*]—For a particular account of the modern names and circumstances of these Ionian cities, consult Chandler and Pocock.

Miletus was the birth-place of Thales, Clazomenæ of Anaxagoras, Ephesus of Parrhasius, Colophon of Xenophanes, Teos of Anacreon.—*T.*

These are the four discriminations of language to which we alluded.

CXLIII. Of these Ionians, the Milesians were induced to court the friendship of Cyrus, from apprehensions of his power. The islanders had but little cause of fear, for the Persians had not yet subdued the Phœnicians, and were themselves ignorant of maritime affairs. The general imbecility of Greece, and the small importance of the Ionians in particular, was their motive for separating themselves from the body of that nation of which they constituted a part; Athens, of all the Grecian cities, being the only one of any distinction. The appellation of Ionians was for this reason disdained by the Athenians, and some other Ionians, which prejudice does not yet appear to be obliterated. In opposition to this, the above twelve cities are proud of the name, and have in consequence erected a sacred edifice, which they call the Panionium [189]. They determined to admit no other of the Ionian

189 *Panionium.*]—About sixteen miles to the south of Scala Nuova there is a Christian village called Changlee. It is supposed to be the ancient Panionium, where the meeting of the twelve cities of Ionia was held, and a solemn sacrifice performed to Neptune Heliconius, in which the people of Priene presided.—*Pocock.*

The victim sacrificed in this temple was a bull; and it was deemed an auspicious omen if he lowed whilst they were conducting him to the place of sacrifice.

This is alluded to in Homer:

Not louder roars,
At Neptune's shrine on Helicé's high shores,
The victim bull.—*Iliad* xx. *T.*

cities to this temple, and the privilege was desired by those of Smyrna alone.

CXLIV. The Dorians now inhabiting Pentapolis, which was formerly called Hexapolis, instituted a similar exemption; not admitting the neighbouring Dorians, nor indeed some of their own people, who had violated a sacred and established custom, to the temple of Triope [190]. The prize of these games, which were celebrated in honour of the Triopian Apollo, was formerly a tripod of brass, which the victor was not expected to carry away [191], but to leave as a votive offering in the temple of the deity. A man of Halicarnassus [192], whose name was

190 *Temple of Triope.*—Triopium was a city of Caria, founded by Triopas, son of Erysicthon. Hence the Triopean promontory took its name, where was a temple known under the name of the Triopean temple, consecrated to Apollo. The Dorians here celebrated games in honour of that god, but without joining with him Neptune and the nymphs.

In this temple was held a general assembly of the Dorians of Asia, upon the model of that of Thermopylæ.—*Larcher.*

191 *Was not expected to carry away.*]—In the games in honour of Apollo and Bacchus, the victor was not permitted to carry the prize away with him. It remained in the temple of the deity, with an inscription signifying the names of the persons at whose cost the games were celebrated, with that of the victorious tribe.—*Larcher.*

192 *Halicarnassus.*]—The sincerity of Herodotus is eminently conspicuous from the faithful manner in which he relates circumstances but little honourable either for Halicarnassus, his country, or even for the Athenians, who had expressed themselves anxious to receive him into the number of their citizens, and before whom he had publicly recited his history. See also chap. cxlvi. of

was Agaſicles, having obtained the victory, in violation of this cuſtom carried the tripod to his own houſe, where it was openly ſuſpended. In puniſhment of this offence, Halicarnaſſus was excluded from the participation of their religious ceremonies, by the five cities of Lindus, Jalyſſus, Camirus, Cos[193], and Cnidus[194].

CXLV. It appears to me, that the Ionians divided themſelves into twelve ſtates, and were unwilling to connect themſelves with more, ſimply becauſe in Peloponneſus they were originally ſo circumſtanced as are the Achæans at preſent, by whom the Ionians were expelled. The firſt of theſe is Pellene near Sicyon, then Ægira and Ægæ, through which the Crathis flows with a never-failing ſtream, giving its name to a well-known river of Italy. Next to theſe is Bura, then Helice, to which place the

of this book; as alſo different paſſages in the 3d, 5th, and 7th books.—*Bouhier.*

193 *Cos.*]—Cos was the birth-place of Hippocrates.—*T.*

194 *Cnidus.*]—Cnidus was celebrated for being the birthplace of the hiſtorian Cteſias, and of the aſtronomer Eudoxus, and no leſs ſo from being poſſeſſed of the beautiful Venus of Praxiteles.—*T.*

The medals ſtruck at Cnidus in the times of the Roman emperors, repreſent, as may be preſumed, the Venus of Praxiteles. The goddeſs with her right hand conceals her ſex, with her left ſhe holds ſome linen over a veſſel of perfumes.—*Voyage du jeune Anacharſis.*

It is perhaps not unworthy of remark, that the celebrated Venus de Medicis conceals with her left hand the diſtinction of her ſex, whilſt her right is elevated to her boſom.—*T.*

Ionians fled after being vanquished in battle by the Achæans. Next follow Ægium [195], Rhypæ, Patræ, Pharæ, and Olenus, which is watered by Pirus, a considerable river. The last are Dyme, and Tritæa, the only inland city.

CXLVI. These are the twelve states of the Achæans, to which the Ionians formerly belonged, who, for this reason, constructed an equal number of cities in the country which they afterwards inhabited. That these are more properly Ionians than the rest, it would be absurd to assert or to imagine. It is certain that the Abantes [196] of Eubœa, who have neither name nor any thing else in common with Ionia, form a considerable part of them. They are, moreover, mixed with the Minyan-Orchomenians,

[195] *Ægium.*]—The inhabitants of this place having vanquished the Ætolians in a naval fight, and taken from them a vessel of fifty oars, they made an offering of the tenth part to the temple of Delphi, at the same time they demanded of the god, who were the bravest of the Greeks? The Pythian answered thus: "The best cavalry are those of Thessaly; the loveliest women are those of Sparta; they who drink the water of the fair fountain of Arethuse are valiant; but the Argives, who inhabit betwixt Terinthus and Arcadia, abounding in flocks, are more so.—As for you, oh, Ægians! you are neither the third, nor the fourth, nor even the twelfth; you inspire no respect, nor are of the smallest importance."—*Larcher.*

[196] *Abantes.*]—This people cut off their hair before, and suffered it to grow behind; being a valiant race, they did this to prevent the enemy, whom they always boldly fronted, seizing them by the hair. For the same reason Alexander the Great ordered his generals to make the troops cut off their hair.—*Larcher.*

Orchomenians, the Cadmeans, Dryopians, Phocidians, Molossians, the Pelasgians of Arcadia, the Dorians of Epidaurus, and various other nations. Even those who migrating from the Prytaneum [197] of Athens esteem themselves the most noble of all the Ionians, on their first settling in the country, brought no wives, but married a number of Carian women, whose parents they put to death. In consequence of this violence, the women made a compact amongst themselves, which they delivered to their daughters, never to sit at meals with their husbands, nor to call them by their appropriate names; which resolution was provoked by the murder of their parents, their husbands, and their children, and by their being afterwards compelled to marry the assassins.—The above happened at Miletus.

CXLVII. Of those chosen by these Ionians for their kings, some were Lydians, descended of

[197] *Prytaneum.*]—The Prytaneum was the senate-house of Athens. After the senators were elected, presiding officers were appointed, who were called Prytanes. There were fifty of these, and they resided constantly in the Prytaneum, that they might be ready, says Potter, to give audience to whoever had any thing to propose concerning the commonwealth. In the same place also resided other citizens who had rendered important services to their country. The Prytaneum was sacred to Vesta; it was not appropriate to Athens: mention is made of the Prytaneum of Siphros, of Cyzicum, of Syracuse, and of many other places.—T.

Glaucus [198], the son of Hippolochus, and others, Caucon-Pylians, of the race of Codrus, son of Melanthus. Of their Ionian name these were more tenacious than the rest of their countrymen; they are without question true and genuine Ionians: but this name may, in fact, be applied to all those of Athenian origin, who celebrate the Apaturian festival [199]; from which it is to be observed, that the Ephesians and Colophonians are alone excluded, who had been guilty of the crime of murder.

[198] *Glaucus.*]—This is the Glaucus who relates his genealogy to Diomed in the sixth book of the Iliad.

> Hippolochus surviv'd; from him I came,
> The honour'd author of my birth and name;
> By his decree I sought the Trojan town, &c.—*Pope.*

Invidious as it may appear, we cannot help remarking, that the whole version of this episode is comparatively defective in spirit and in melody.—*T.*

[199] *Apaturian festival.*]—This was first instituted at Athens, and thence derived to the rest of the Ionians, Colophon and Ephesus alone excepted. It continued three days: the first was called Dorpia, from Dorpos, a supper; on the evening of this day each tribe had a separate meeting, at which a sumptuous entertainment was prepared. The second day was named Anarrusis. Victims were offered to Jupiter and to Minerva, in whose sacrifices, as in all that were offered to the celestial gods, it was usual to turn the head of the victims upwards towards heaven. The third day was called Koureotis, from Kouros, a youth, or Koura, shaving. The young men who presented themselves to be inrolled amongst the citizens had then their hair cut off. At this time their fathers were obliged to swear, that both themselves and the mothers of the young men were free-born Athenians. For farther particulars on this subject, consult archbishop Potter's Antiquities of Greece.—*T.*

CXLVIII.

CXLVIII. Panionium is a ſacred place[200] on Mycale, ſituate towards the north, which by the univerſal conſent of the Ionians is conſecrated to the Heliconian Neptune[201]. Mycale is a promontory, projecting itſelf weſtward towards Samos. Upon this mountain the Ionians aſſemble from their different cities, to celebrate the Panionia. Not only the proper names of theſe religious ceremonies, but thoſe of all the other Greeks, terminate, like the Perſian proper names, in the ſame letter.

CXLIX. The above are the cities of Ionia. Thoſe of Æolia are Cyme, ſometimes called Phryconis, Lariſſæ, Neontichus, Temnos, Cilla, Notium, Ægiroeſſa, Pitane, Ægæa, Myrina, and Grynia; theſe

[200] *Sacred place.*]—Ampelus and Omphalus were the ſame term originally, however varied afterwards, and differently appropriated. They are each a compound from Omphe, and relate to the oracular deity. Ampelus, at Mycale in Ionia, was confeſſedly ſo denominated, from its being a ſacred place, and abounding with waters, by which people who drank them were ſuppoſed to be inſpired.—*Bryant.*

[201] *Heliconian Neptune.*]—The Ionians had a great veneration for Neptune; they had erected to him a temple at Helice, a city of Achaia, when that country belonged to them. From this place the deity took his name of Heliconius. Homer calls him Heliconian king. The Ionians giving place to the Achaians, carried with them to Athens, where they took refuge, the worſhip of Neptune: afterwards fixing in Aſia, they conſtructed, in honour of this divinity, a temple, on the model of that at Helice. This temple was in the territories of Priene, to which place he who preſided at the ſacrifices was obliged to belong, its inhabitants giving out that they came from Helice.—*Larcher.*

were

were the original cities of Æolia. They were formerly twelve in number on the continent; but Smyrna, which was one of them, the Ionians divided from them. The country poſſeſſed by the Æolians is in itſelf more excellent than Ionia, though much inferior in the temperature of the air.

CL. The loſs of Smyrna was occaſioned by the following incident. Some inhabitants of Colophon, who had raiſed a ſedition, and had been driven from their country, were received into Smyrna. They watched their opportunity, and whilſt the citizens were engaged in celebrating the rites of Bacchus without the town, they ſecured the gates, and took poſſeſſion of the place. All the Æolians aſſembled for its relief: they afterwards came to terms, and it was agreed that the Ionians ſhould retain the city, reſtoring to the former inhabitants their houſehold goods. The Smyrneans were in conſequence divided among the other cities, with enjoyment of the different privileges annexed to each.

CLI. The above are the Æolian cities on the continent, among which we have not enumerated thoſe of mount Ida, which can hardly be ſaid to make a part of their body. They have alſo in Leſbos [202] five towns; there is a ſixth, named Ariſba,

[202] *Leſbos.*]—The names of Arion and Terpander, of Pittacus, of Alcæus, and of Sappho, and, in after times, of Theophanes.

Arisba, but this was subdued by the Methynnæans, although allied to them by blood. They moreover possess a city in Tenedos [203], and another in the Hundred Islands. The inhabitants of Lesbos and Tenedos, as well as those of the Ionian islands, were, from their situation, secure from danger; the others indiscriminately agreed to follow the direction and example of the Ionians.

CLII. The Ionians and Æolians made no delay in dispatching ambassadors to Sparta, who, when there, selected for their common orator a man of Phocæa, whose name was Pythermus. Habited in purple [204], as a means of getting a greater number of Spartans together, he stood forth,

phanes the historian, concur in making the island of Lesbos a just object of classical curiosity. Arion and Terpander excelled all their cotemporaries in the science and practice of music; Pittacus was eminent for his wisdom; and of Alcæus and Sappho little more need be said, than that they have ever been considered as the founders of lyric poetry. A proper opportunity seems here to present itself, of informing the English reader, that what has been said of the dissolute manners of Sappho is only to be found in the works of those who lived a long time after her. The wines of Lesbos were esteemed the finest in Greece: it is now called Mytilene, which was the name of the ancient capital of the island.—*T.*

203 *Tenedos.*]—The Grecian fleet which proceeded against Troy lay here. It retains its name, is inhabited by Greeks and Turks, and, according to Pocock, exports good wine and brandy.—*T.*

204 *Habited in purple.*]—This dress was the most likely to make him conspicuous, as being particularly affected by women. —*Larcher.*

in the midſt of them, and exerted all his powers to prevail on them to communicate their aſſiſtance. The Lacedæmonians paid no attention to him, and publicly reſolved not to aſſiſt the Ionians. On the departure of the ambaſſadors they nevertheleſs diſpatched a veſſel of fifty oars, to watch the proceedings of Cyrus, as well as of the Ionians. Arriving at Phocæa, they ſent forwards to Sardis one Lacrines, the principal man of the party, who was commiſſioned to inform Cyrus that the Lacedæmonians would reſent whatever injury might be offered to any of the Grecian cities.

CLIII. Cyrus gave audience to Lacrines; after which he enquired of the Grecians around him, who theſe Lacedæmonians were, and what effective power they poſſeſſed, to juſtify this lofty language? When he was ſatisfied in theſe particulars, he told the Spartan, "That men who had a large void ſpace in their city, where they aſſembled for the purpoſe of defrauding each other, could never be to him objects of terror: he farther obſerved, that if he continued but in health, he would take care that their concern for the Ionian troubles ſhould be ſuperſeded by the greatneſs of their own." Cyrus made this reflection upon the Greeks, from the circumſtance of their having large public ſquares[205] for the convenience of trade: the Perſians

[205] *Large public ſquares.*]—I have my doubts whether Herodotus was not miſinformed in this particular. Xenophon properly diſtinguiſhes the public ſquare which was occupied by the houſes

ſians have nothing of the kind. The care of Sardis Cyrus afterwards entruſted to Tabalus, a Perſian; the diſpoſition of the Lydian treaſures he entruſted to Pactyas, a Lydian: Cyrus himſelf proceeded to Ecbatane, taking Crœſus with him. The Ionians he held in trifling eſtimation, compared with what he expected in his views upon Babylon and the Bactrians. He was prepared alſo for more ſerious reſiſtance from the Sacians and Ægyptians; he therefore reſolved to take the command in theſe expeditions himſelf, and to entruſt one of his officers with the conduct of the Ionian war.

CLIV. As ſoon as Cyrus had left Sardis, Pactyas excited the Lydians to revolt. He proceeded towards the ſea, and having all the wealth of Sardis at command, he procured a band of mercenaries, and prevailed on the inhabitants of the coaſt to enliſt under his banners; he then encamped before Sardis, and beſieged Tabalus in the citadel.

CLV. Intelligence of this was brought to Cyrus on his march; who thus addreſſed Crœſus on the ſubject: "What will, in your opinion, Crœſus, be the event of theſe diſturbances? The Lydians ſeem inclined to provide ſufficient employment for me, and trouble for themſelves: I am in doubt, whether it will not be better to reduce them alto-

houſes of the magiſtrates, and thoſe appropriated to the education of youth, from thoſe places in which proviſions and merchandize were ſold.—*Larcher.*

gether

gether to servitude: I appear to myself in the situation of a man, who, destroying the parent, has spared the child—You, who were in every sense the parent of the Lydians, remain in captivity; and yet I am surprized that they, to whom I have restored their city, rebel against my power." Crœsus, on hearing these sentiments of Cyrus, was alarmed for the safety of Sardis. "Sir," he replied, "your remarks are certainly reasonable; but do not, in your anger, destroy an ancient city, which cannot justly be accused of the former or present commotions. Of its preceding troubles I was the occasion, the penalty of which I suffer in my own person: Pactyas, who has abused your confidence, is the author of the present; let him, therefore, be the object of your resentment; but let the Lydians be forgiven, who may easily be prevented from giving you trouble or alarm hereafter. Let their arms be taken from them; let them be commanded to wear tunics under their cloaks, and buskins about their legs; suffer them to instruct their children in dancing, music, and other feminine accomplishments; you will soon see them lose the dignity of manhood [206], and be effectually delivered from all future apprehensions of their revolt.

CLVI.

[206] *Lose the dignity of manhood.*]—These people became so effeminate, that the word *ludizein* signified to dance: the Romans also called dances and pantomimes *ludiones* and *ludii*, which words are derived, not from *ludus*, but from the Lydians; for the Latins used Ludus, Surus, Suria, for Lydus, Syrus, and Syria.

Xerxes

CLVI. These suggestions Crœsus was induced to make, because he thought that even this situation would be better for his country than a state of actual servitude. He was well assured, that unless what he had urged was forcible, Cyrus would not be prevailed on to alter his determination. He reflected also on the probability of the Lydians revolting in future, if they escaped the present danger, and their consequent and unavoidable destruction. Cyrus took in good part the remonstrance of Crœsus, with which, forgetting his resentment, he promised to comply. He, in consequence, dispatched Mazares the Mede, who was commissioned to enforce these observances among the Lydians, which Crœsus had recommended. He farther ordered all those to be sold as slaves who had been active in the Lydian revolt, excepting Pactyas, whom he desired to be brought a prisoner to his presence.

CLVII. These commands he issued in his progress, and he marched without delay to Persia. As soon as Pactyas was informed that an army was advancing to oppose him, he fled in affright to Cyme. Mazares proceeded instantly to Sardis, with a small division of the army of Cyrus. When he heard of the flight of Pactyas, his first step was

Xerxes compelled the Babylonians, who had revolted from him, to adopt a similar conduct. He forbade their carrying arms, and obliged them to learn the practice of music, to have in their cities places of debauch, and to wear long tunics.—*Larcher*.

to

to compel the Lydians to the obſervance of what Cyrus had commanded. This proved ſo effectual that it produced a total change in the manners of the Lydians. Mazares then diſpatched meſſengers to Cyme, demanding the perſon of Pactyas: with this the Cymeans heſitated to comply, and firſt of all ſent perſons to conſult the oracle of Branchidæ, for directions how to act. This oracle was of the greateſt antiquity, and conſulted both by the Ionians and Æolians: it is in the territories of Miletus, beyond the port of Panormus [207].

CLVIII. Their meſſengers were directed to enquire what conduct, with reſpect to Pactyas, would be moſt conformable to the will of the gods: they were in anſwer commanded to deliver him up to the Perſians; which ſtep, on their return, was about to be followed. In contradiction to the general inclination, Ariſtodicus, ſon of Heraclides, a man exceedingly popular, diſtruſted the interpretation of the oracle, and the fidelity of the meſſengers. He propoſed, therefore, that a ſecond meſſage of enquiry ſhould be ſent to the oracle, and he himſelf was among the perſons appointed for this purpoſe.

CLIX. On their arrival at Branchidæ, Ariſtodi-

[207] *Port of Panormus.*]—It will be proper to remember here, that there were two places of this name; and that this muſt not be confounded with the port of Panormus, in the vicinity of Epheſus.—*T.*

tus was the perſon who addreſſed the oracle, which he did thus:—"To avoid a cruel death from the Perſians, Pactyas, a Lydian, fled to us for refuge; the Perſians required us to deliver him into their hands: much as we are afraid of their power, we fear ſtill more to withdraw our protection from a ſuppliant; till we know your immutable opinion of ſuch conduct." He nevertheleſs received the ſame anſwer; and they were ordered to deliver up Pactyas. To give greater force to what he had ſaid, Ariſtodicus made a circle round the temple, and from ſuch neſts as were built on the outſide he took the young. In conſequence of his doing this, a voice is ſaid to have exclaimed from the innermoſt receſſes of the temple, "Impious man! how dareſt thou to injure thoſe who have ſought my protection?" In anſwer to this, Ariſtodicus replied with perfect compoſure, "Are you attentive to thoſe who have ſought your protection, and do you command us to abandon thoſe who have ſought ours?" "Yes," returned the oracle, "I do command it, that ſuch impious men as you [208] may

[208] *Such impious men as you.*]—Dr. Jortin remarks, that juſtice, charity, piety, and faith, were not with thoſe of the middle ages, who cultivated logical or philoſophical divinity, what our Saviour and his apoſtles meant by theſe virtues. Thoſe doctors called that man pious and holy who ſtripped himſelf to enrich the prieſts, who built churches and monaſteries, who neither rejected nor neglected any thing which the pope required to be believed and performed. The remark applies, with peculiar force and truth, to the times and circumſtances diſcuſſed in the chapter before us.—*T.*

perish the sooner, and that you may never more trouble me about delivering up suppliants."

CLX. The Cymeans deliberating on this answer, resolved to take a middle step, that they might neither offend heaven, by abandoning one who had sought their protection, nor expose themselves to the indignation of Cyrus, by refusing his request. Pactyas, therefore, was privately dispatched to Mytilene. From hence also Mazares demanded him, and for a certain compensation the inhabitants of Mytilene agreed to deliver him. This, however, as the matter was never brought to an issue, I pretend not positively to assert. The Cymeans, hearing the danger of Pactyas, sent a vessel to Lesbos, in which he was conveyed to Chios. He here took refuge in the temple of Minerva [209]. The Chians were prevailed on by the offer of Atarneus, a place in Mysia opposite to Lesbos, to take him forcibly from hence, and surrender him [210] to his enemies. The Persians thus obtained

[209] *Minerva.*]—Minerva Poliouchos, the protectress of the citadel. All citadels were supposed to be under the protection of this goddess, where also she had usually a temple.

> Soon as to Ilion's topmost tower they come,
> And awful reach the high Palladian dome.—
>
> *Pope, Il.* vi.

[210] *Surrender him.*]—Charon the Lampsacenian, says Plutarch, a more ancient writer than Herodotus, relating this matter concerning Pactyas, charges neither the Mytilenians nor Chians with any such action. These are his words:—"Pactyas,

ed the means of complying with the wish of Cyrus, to have Pactyas delivered alive into his hands. Long, however, after this event, the Chians refused to use any part of the produce of Atarneus in any of their sacred ceremonies; they appeared to hold it in particular detestation, and it was not in any form introduced in their temples.

CLXI. After Pactyas had been given up by the Chians, Mazares proceeded to reduce those to obedience who had opposed Tabalus. The Prienians were subdued and sold for slaves; the plains of the Meander, and the city of Magnesia, were given up for plunder to the soldiers: after these events Mazares fell a victim to a sudden disease.

CLXII. Harpagus the Mede was appointed to succeed him: this was the man whom Astyages had entertained with so unnatural a feast, and who had assisted Cyrus in obtaining the kingdom: him Cyrus appointed to the command of his army. On his arrival in Ionia, he blockaded the different towns, by throwing up entrenchments before them; Phocæa was the first city of Ionia which thus fell into his hands.

CLXIII. The Phocæans were the first of the Greeks who made long voyages. The Adriatic and

tyas, on hearing of the approach of the Persian army, fled first to Mytilene, then to Chios, and fell into the hands of Cyrus.—*Plutarch on the malignity of Herodotus.*

the Tyrrhene ſeas, Iberia and Tarteſſus, were firſt of all explored by them. Their veſſels were not round but of fifty oars. On their touching at Tarteſſus, they conciliated the favour of Arganthonius[211], ſovereign of the place; he had then governed the Tarteſſians for the ſpace of eighty years, and he lived to the age of one hundred and twenty. Upon that occaſion he formed ſuch a regard for the Phocæans, that, ſoliciting them to leave Ionia, he gave them permiſſion to chooſe within his territories whatever ſituation they might prefer. On their refuſal of his offer, and when he heard from them that the power of the Mede was continually increaſing, he ſupplied them with money to build walls to their city. The extent of the walls, which were of many furlongs, the ſize of the ſtones, with the ſkill of the workmanſhip, ſufficiently atteſt the donor's liberality.

CLXIV. The Phocæans being thus provided with walls, Harpagus advanced and attacked their city. He offered them terms, and engaged to leave them unmoleſted, if they would ſuffer one of their

[211] *Arganthonius.*]—That Herodotus may not, in this inſtance, be accuſed of falſehood, be it known that in theſe our times, an Engliſhman, of the name of Thomas Parr, lived to the age of one hundred and fifty-three. He was invited from his reſidence in the country to London, by king Charles, as a miracle of longevity, where he died, the change of air and of diet not agreeing with him. In all probability if he had ſtaid at home, he might have lived longer. What is more remarkable, at the age of one hundred, he was tried for his life; ob vim illatam virgini.—*Palmerius.*

towers

towers to be demolished, and give up some one edifice [212] for a sacred purpose. From their aversion to servitude, the inhabitants requested a day to deliberate on his proposal; desiring him in that interval to withdraw his forces. Harpagus avowed himself conscious of their intentions, but granted their request. Immediately on his retiring from their walls, the Phocæans prepared their fifty-oar'd gallies, in which they placed their families and effects. They collected also the statues and votive offerings from their temples, leaving only paintings, and such works of iron or of stone as could not easily be removed. With these they embarked, and directed their course to Chios. Thus deserted by its inhabitants, the Persians took possession of Phocæa.

CLXV. On their arrival at Chios, they made propositions for the purchase of the Ænussæ islands; not succeeding in their object, as the Chians were afraid of being by these means injured in their commerce, the Phocæans proceeded to Cyrnus *. In this place, twenty years before, they had,

[212] *Some one edifice.*]—This passage is involved in some obscurity. The commentators understand a temple, M. Reiske wishes to make an addition of the word mithre. But the Persians did not confine the deity within walls. Perhaps, says Wesseling, Harpagus was satisfied with their consecrating one single building, in token of subjection. For my own part, I think that the king, having a palace in every large town of his dominions, the building which Harpagus demanded, was probably intended for his residence, whenever he might happen to visit Phocæa; or it might perhaps be intended for the governor, his representative. —*Larcher.*

* This is Corsica.—*T.*

under ſome oracular direction, built a town, to which they gave the name of Alalia. Arganthonius in the mean while had died, and the Phocæans in their way to Cyrnus touched at Phocæa, where they put to death every one of the garriſon, which had been left by Harpagus for the defence of the place. After this they bound themſelves under ſolemn curſes never to deſert each other. They farther agreed by an oath never to return to Phocæa, till a red-hot ball, which they threw into the ſea, ſhould riſe again. Notwithſtanding theſe engagements, the greater part of them were, during the voyage, ſeized with ſo tender and ſuch affectionate regret for their ancient reſidence, that they returned to Phocæa. Such of them as adhered to their former ſolemn reſolutions, proceeded in their courſe from Ænuſſæ to Cyrnus.

CLXVI. Here they ſettled, lived in peace with the ancient inhabitants for the ſpace of five years, and erected ſome temples. In conſequence, however, of their committing depredations on all their neighbours, the Tyrrhenians and Carthaginians collected a fleet of ſixty veſſels to oppoſe them. The Phocæans on their part were not inactive; they alſo fitted out ſixty veſſels, and advanced to meet their adverſaries on the Sardinian ſea. The fleets engaged, the Phocæans conquered, but obtained what might be termed a Cadmean victory[213]. They loſt forty

213 *Cadmean victory.*]—The origin of this proverb is variouſly related.

forty of their veſſels, and the twenty which remained were unfit for all ſervice. Returning, therefore, to Alalia, they got together their families and effects, loaded their ſhips with all that they could carry, and, abandoning Cyrnus, directed their courſe to Rhegium.

CLXVII. On board the veſſels which were taken by the enemy were a number of priſoners, moſt of whom were carried on ſhore, and ſtoned to death. After which enormity it happened that all the men, cattle, and different animals belonging to Agylla *, which approached this ſpot, were ſeized with convulſions, and deformity of one kind or other. This circumſtance, and a wiſh to atone for their crime, induced the people of Agylla to conſult the Delphic oracle. The Pythian directed them to perform, what is ſtill obſerved as a cuſtom among them: they inſtituted magnificent funeral rites in honour of thoſe who had been ſlain, and they introduced in their honour gymnaſtic and equeſtrian exerciſes. Such was the fate of this portion of the Phocæans. They who retired to Rhegium took poſſeſſion of a part of Ænotria, and built a city called Hyela. To this they were perſuaded by a man of Poſidonia, who inſtructed them that the

related. Suidas ſays, amongſt other things, that it became a proverb, becauſe Cadmus having deſtroyed the dragon, which guarded a fountain ſacred to Mars, lived afterwards for the ſpace of eight years in ſervitude to Mars. It was applied univerſally to thoſe whoſe oſtenſible ſuperiority was accompanied with real diſadvantage—T.

* This was Cære in Etruria.

oracle really intended them to build a mausoleum to the hero Cyrnus, and not a city in the island of that name.—Such is the history of the Phocæans of Ionia.

CLXVIII. The fortune of the Teians was nearly similar; Harpagus having taken their city by blockade, they embarked, and passed over into Thrace; here they built Abdera [214], the foundations of which were originally laid by Timesius [215] of Clazomenæ. He enjoyed no advantage from his labours, but was banished by the Thracians, though now venerated by the Teians of Abdera as a hero.

CLXIX. These Ionians alone, through a warm attachment to liberty, thus abandoned their native country. The rest of these people, excepting the Milesians, met Harpagus in the field, and like their friends, who had sought another residence, fought like men and patriots. Upon being conquered, they continued in their several cities, and submitted to the wills of their new masters. The Milesians, who, as

[214] *Abdera.*]—Of this place many singularities are related by Lucian and Pliny. The grass of the country was so strong, that such horses as eat of it ran mad. The inhabitants were afflicted with a fever, which so disturbed their imaginations, that they fancied themselves actors, and were, during the delirium, eternally repeating some verses from the Andromeda of Euripides. It produced, however, many famous men. It was the birth-place of Democritus, of Protagoras, Anaxarchus, Hecatæus, and others.—*T.*

[215] *Timesius.*]—Larcher, on the authority of Plutarch and Ælian, reads Timesias. The reading in all the manuscripts and editions of Herodotus, is Timesius.

Timesias

as I have before mentioned, had formed a league of amity with Cyrus, lived in undiſturbed tranquillity. Thus was Ionia reduced a ſecond time to ſervitude. Awed by the fate of their countrymen on the continent, the Ionians of the iſlands, without any reſiſtance, ſubmitted themſelves to Harpagus and Cyrus.

CLXX. The Ionians, though thus depreſſed, did not omit aſſembling at Panionium, where, as I have been informed, Bias of Priene gave them advice ſo full of wiſdom, that their compliance with it would have rendered them the happieſt of the Greeks. He recommended them to form one general fleet, to proceed with this to Sardinia, and there erect one city capable of receiving all the Ionians. Thus they might have lived in enjoyment of their liberties, and poſſeſſing the greateſt of all the iſlands, might have been ſecure of the dependance of the reſt. On the contrary, their continuance in Ionia rendered every expectation of their recovering their independence altogether impoſſible. This, in their fallen condition, was the advice of Bias; but before their calamities, Thales the Mileſian, who was in

Timeſias was governor of Clazomenæ, and a man of great integrity. Envy, which always perſecutes ſuch characters, ultimately effected his diſgrace. He was for a time regardleſs of its conſequences: but it at length baniſhed him from his country. He was paſſing by a ſchool, before which the boys, diſmiſſed by their maſter, were playing. Two of them were quarelling about a piece of ſtring. "I wiſh," ſays one of them, "I might ſo daſh out the brains of Timeſias." Hearing this, he concluded that if he was thus hated by boys, as well as men, the diſlike of his perſon muſt be univerſal indeed; he therefore voluntarily baniſhed himſelf.—*Ælian.*

fact

fact of Phœnician origin, had wisely counselled them to have one general representation of the Ionians at Teos, this being a central situation: of which the other cities, still using their own customs and laws, might be considered as so many different tribes. Such were the different suggestions of these two persons.

CLXXI. On the reduction of Ionia, Harpagus incorporated the Ionians and Æolians with his forces, and proceeded against the Carians, Caunians, and Lycians. The Carians formerly were islanders, in subjection to Minos, and called Leleges. But I do not, after the strictest examination, find that they ever paid tribute. They supplied Minos, as often as he requested, with a number of vessels, and at the period of his great prosperity and various victories, were distinguished above their neighbours by their ingenuity. Three improvements now in use among the Greeks are imputed to them. The Carians were the first who added crests to their helmets, and ornaments to their shields. They were also the first who gave the shield its handle [216]. Be-

[216] *Its handle.*]—It appears from Homer, that in the time of the Trojan war the buckler had two handles of wood, one through which the arm was passed; the other was grasped by the hand, to regulate its movement. See Iliad 8, 193. This particularity is omitted by Mr. Pope, who contents himself with saying, shield of gold. The original is, the shield is intirely of gold, handles and all.—κανονας τε ϗ αυτην.—T.

Sophocles, therefore, has been guilty of an anachromism, in giving the shield of Ajax a handle of leather.—*Larcher.*

fore

fore their time, ſuch as bore ſhields had no other means of uſing them, but by a piece of leather ſuſpended from the neck over the left ſhoulder. At a long interval of time, the Dorians and Ionians expelled the Carians, who thus driven from the iſlands ſettled on the continent. The above information concerning the Carians we receive from Crete; they themſelves contradict it altogether, and affirm that they are original natives of the continent, and had never but one name. In confirmation of this they ſhew at Mylaſſa[217], a very ancient ſtructure, built in honour of the Carian Jove, to the privileges of which the Lydians and Myſians are alſo admitted, as being of the ſame origin. According to their account, Lydus, Miſus, and Cares, were brothers; the uſe of the above temple is therefore granted to their deſcendants, but to no other nation, though diſtinguiſhed by the uſe of the ſame language.

CLXXII. The Caunians are in my opinion the aborigines of the country, notwithſtanding they aſſert themſelves to have come from Crete. I am not able to ſpeak with deciſion on the ſubject; but it is certain, that either they adopted the Carian language, or the Carians accommodated themſelves to theirs. Their laws and cuſtoms differ eſſentially from thoſe of other nations, and no leſs ſo from the Carians.

217 *Mylaſſa.*]—Now called Melaſſo. Beſides the temple here mentioned, there was another of great antiquity, in honour of Jupiter Oſogus. In after-times a beautiful temple was conſtructed here, ſacred to Auguſtus and to Rome. It is at the preſent day remarkable for producing the beſt tobacco in Turkey.—*T.*

Among

Among them it is esteemed highly meritorious to make drinking parties, to which they resort in crowds, both men, women, and children, according to their different ages and attachments. In earlier times they adopted the religious ceremonies of foreign nations; but determining afterwards to have no deities but those of their own country, they assembled of all ages in arms, and rushing forwards, brandishing their spears as in the act of pursuit, they stopped not until they came to the mountains of Calynda, crying aloud that they were expelling their foreign gods [218].

CLXXIII. The Lycians certainly derive their origin from Crete [219]. The whole of this island was formerly possessed by barbarians; but a contest for the supreme power arising between Sarpedon and Minos, the sons of Europa [220], Minos prevailed, and expelled Sarpedon and his adherents. These, in leaving

[218] *Foreign gods.*]—The gods of all polytheists, observes Mr. Hume, are no better than the elves or fairies of our ancestors. These pretended religionists acknowledge no being which corresponds to our idea of a deity. The Chinese, when their prayers are not answered, beat their idols. The deities of the Laplanders are any large stone which they meet with of an extraordinary shape. The Ægyptian mythologists, in order to account for animal worship, said, that the gods, pursued by the violence of earth-born men, who were their enemies, had formerly been obliged to disguise themselves under the semblance of beasts. Not even the immortal gods, said some German nations to Cæsar, are a match for the Suevi.—*Essay on the Natural History of Religion.*

[219] *Crete.*]—Now called Candia. For an account of its precise circumstances, consult Pocock.—*T.*

[220] *Europa.*]—The popular story of Jupiter and Europa, is too well

leaving their country, came to that part of Asia which is called Milyas. The country of the Lycians was formerly called Milyas, and the Milyans were anciently known by the name of Solymi. Here Sarpedon governed; his subjects retained the names they brought, and indeed they are now by their neighbours called Termilians. Lycus, the son of Pandion, being also driven from Athens by his brother Ægeus, went to Sarpedon, at Termilæ; in process of time the nation was after him called Lycians. Their laws are partly Cretan[221] and partly Carian. They have one distinction from which they never deviate, which is peculiar to themselves; they take their names from their mothers[222], and not from their fathers.

well known to require or to justify any elaborate discussion. This name, however, may be introduced amongst a thousand others, to prove how little it becomes any person to speak peremptorily, and with decision, upon any of these more ancient personages. According to Lucian, Europa and Astarte were the same, and worshipped with divine honours in Syria. She was also esteemed the same with Rhea, the mother of the gods.—*T.*

[221] *Partly Cretan.*]—The following singular circumstance is related by Ælian. "The Cretans," says he, "are skilful archers. With their darts they wound the wild goats which feed upon the mountains. The goats, on perceiving themselves struck, immediately eat the herb dictamnus; as soon as they have tasted it, the darts fall from the wound.—*T.*

[222] *From their mothers.*]—Bellerophon slew a wild boar, which destroyed all the cattle and fruits of the Xanthians, but for his services he received no compensation. He therefore prayed to Neptune, and obtained from him, that all the fields of the Xanthians should exhale a salt dew, and be universally corrupted. This continued till, regarding the supplications of the women, he prayed a second time to Neptune, to remove this effect of his indignation

fathers. If any one is aſked concerning his family, he proceeds immediately to give an account of his deſcent, mentioning the female branches only. If any free woman marries a ſlave, the children of ſuch marriage are reputed free; but if a man who is a citizen, and of authority among them, marry a concubine, or a foreigner, his children can never attain any dignity in the ſtate.

CLXXIV. Upon this occaſion the Carians made no remarkable exertions, but afforded an eaſy victory to Harpagus. The Carians, indeed, were not leſs puſillanimous than all the Greeks inhabiting this diſtrict; among whom are the Cnidians, a Lacedæmonian colony, whoſe territories, called Triopium, extend to the ſea. The whole of this country, except the Bybaſſian peninſula, is ſurrounded with water: on the north by the bay of Ceramus; and on the weſt by that ſea which flows near Syme and Rhodes. Through this peninſula, which was only five furlongs in extent, the Cnidians endeavoured to

indignation from them. Hence a law was inſtituted amongſt the Xanthians, that they ſhould derive their names from their mothers, and not from their fathers.—*Plutarch on the Virtues of Women.*

The country of the Xanthians was in Lycia. If this cuſtom commenced with the Xanthians, the Lycians doubtleſs adopted it. Amongſt theſe people the inheritance deſcended to the daughters, the ſons were excluded.—*Larcher.*

No leſs ſingular is the cuſtom which prevails in ſome parts of this kingdom, called Borough Engliſh, which ordains that the youngeſt ſon ſhall inherit the eſtate, in preference to all his elder brothers.—*T.*

make

make a paſſage, whilſt the forces of Harpagus were employed againſt Ionia. The whole of this country lying beyond the iſthmus being their own, they meant thus to reduce it into the form of an iſland. Whilſt they were engaged in this employment, the labourers were wounded in different parts of the body, and particularly in the eyes, by ſmall pieces of flint, which ſeemed to fly about in ſo wonderful a manner as to juſtify their apprehenſions that ſome ſupernatural power had interfered. They ſent therefore to make enquiries at Delphi what power it was which thus oppoſed their efforts? The Pythian[223], according to their own tradition, anſwered them thus:

Nor build, nor dig; for wiſer Heav'n
Had, were it beſt, an iſland giv'n.

Upon this the Cnidians deſiſted from their purpoſe,

223 *The Pythian.*]—This anſwer of the oracle brings to mind an hiſtorical anecdote, which we may properly introduce here:—The Dutch offered Charles the Second of Spain to make the Tagus navigable as far as Liſbon, at their own expence, provided he would ſuffer them to exact, for a certain number of years, a ſtipulated duty on merchandize which ſhould paſs that way. It was their intention to make the Manſanazer navigable from Madrid to the place where it joins the Tagus. After a ſage deliberation, the council of Caſtile returned this remarkable anſwer: "If it had pleaſed God to make theſe rivers navigable, the intervention of human induſtry would not have been neceſſary: as they are not ſo already, it does not appear that Providence intended them to be ſo. Such an undertaking would be ſeemingly to violate the decrees of Heaven, and to attempt the amendment of theſe apparent imperfections viſible in its works."—Tranſlated by Larcher, from *Clarke's Letters on the Spaniſh Nation.*

and, on the approach of the enemy, furrendered themfelves, without refiftance, to Harpagus.

CLXXV. The inland country beyond Halicarnaffus was inhabited by the Pedafians. Of them it is affirmed, that whenever they or their neighbours are menaced by any calamity, a prodigious beard grows from the chin of the prieftefs of Minerva [224]: this, they fay, has happened three feveral times. They having fortified mount Lida, were the only people of Caria who difcovered any refolution in oppofing Harpagus. After many exertions of bravery, they were at length fubdued.

CLXXVI. When Harpagus led his army towards Xanthus, the Lycians boldly advanced to meet him, and, though inferior in number, behaved with the greateft bravery. Being defeated, and purfued into their city, they collected their wives, children, and valuable effects, into the citadel, and there confumed the whole in one immenfe fire [225]. They afterwards uniting

[224] *The prieftefs of Minerva.*]—We exprefs ourfelves furprized at the blind credulity of the ancients: pofterity, in its turn, will be aftonifhed at ours, without being on this account perhaps at all more wife.—*Larcher.*

The liquefying of the blood of St. Januarius at Naples, which by the majority of the people there it would at this day be thought impiety to doubt, is recited in a very lively and entertaining manner by Dr. Moore, and is an inftance of credulity no lefs ftriking than the one recorded by Herodotus of the Carian prieftefles.—*T.*

[225] *One immenfe fire.*]—The following anecdote from Plutarch, defcribes a fimilar emotion of defpair.—The Xanthians made a fally in the night, and feizing many of the enemy's battering engines, fet them on fire. Being foon perceived by the Romans, they

uniting themſelves under the moſt ſolemn curſes, made a private ſally upon the enemy, and were every man put to death. Of thoſe who now inhabit Lycia, calling themſelves Xanthians, the whole are foreigners, eighty families excepted: theſe ſurvived the calamity of their country, being at that time abſent on ſome foreign expedition. Thus Xanthus fell into the hands of Harpagus; as alſo did Caunus, whoſe people imitated, almoſt in every reſpect, the example of the Lycians.

CLXXVII. Whilſt Harpagus was thus engaged in the conqueſt of the Lower Aſia, Cyrus himſelf conducted an army againſt the upper regions, of every part of which he became maſter. The particulars of his victories I ſhall omit; expatiating only upon thoſe which are more memorable in themſelves, and which Cyrus found the moſt difficult to accompliſh. When he had reduced the whole of the continent, he commenced his march againſt the Aſſyrians.

they were beaten back. A violent wind forced the flames againſt the battlements of the city with ſuch violence, that the adjoining houſes took fire. Brutus, on this, commanded his ſoldiers to aſſiſt the citizens in quenching the fire: but they were ſeized with ſo ſudden a frenzy and deſpair, that women and children, bond and free, all ages and conditions, ſtrove to repel thoſe who came to their aſſiſtance, and, gathering whatever combuſtible matter they could, ſpread the fire over the whole city. Not only men and women, but even boys and little children, leaped into the fire; others threw themſelves from the walls; others fell upon their parents ſwords, opening their breaſts, and deſiring to be ſlain.—*T.*

CLXXVIII. The Aſſyrians are maſters of many capital towns; but their place of greateſt ſtrength and fame is Babylon [226], where, after the deſtruction of Nineveh, was the royal reſidence. It is ſituated on a large plain, and is a perfect ſquare: each ſide by every approach is, in length, one hundred and twenty furlongs; the ſpace, therefore, occupied by the whole is four hundred and eighty furlongs. So extenſive is the ground which Babylon occupies; its internal beauty and magnificence exceeds whatever has come within my knowledge. It is ſurrounded by a trench, very wide, deep, and full of water: the wall beyond this is two hundred royal cubits [227] high, and fifty wide: the royal exceeds the common cubit by three digits.

CLXXIX. It will not be foreign to my purpoſe

[226] *Babylon.*]—The greateſt cities of Europe give but a faint idea of that grandeur which all hiſtorians unanimouſly aſcribe to the famous city of Babylon.—*Dutens.*

Babylon, the glory of kingdoms, the beauty of the Chaldees excellency.—*Iſaiah.*

[227] *Cubits.*]—It muſt be confeſſed, indeed, that in the compariſon of ancient and modern meaſures, nothing certain has been concluded. According to vulgar computation, a cubit is a foot and a half; and thus the ancients alſo reckoned it: but then we are not certainly agreed about the length of their foot. —*Montfaucon.*

The doubt expreſſed by Montfaucon appears unneceſſary: theſe meaſures, being taken from the proportions of the human body, are more permanent than any other. The foot of a moderate-ſized man, and the cubit, that is the ſpace from the end of the fingers to the elbow, have always been near twelve and and eighteen inches reſpectively.—*T.*

to

to describe the use to which the earth dug out of the trench was converted, as well as the particular manner in which they constructed the wall. The earth of the trench was first of all laid in heaps, and, when a sufficient quantity was obtained, made into square bricks, and baked in a furnace. They used as cement, a composition of heated bitumen, which, mixed with the tops of reeds, was placed betwixt every thirtieth course of bricks. Having thus lined the sides of the trench, they proceeded to build the wall in the same manner; on the summit of which, and fronting each other, they erected small watch-towers of one story, leaving a space betwixt them through which a chariot and four horses might pass and turn. In the circumference of the wall, at different distances, were an hundred massy gates of brass [228], whose hinges and frames were of the same metal. Within an eight days journey from Babylon is a city called Is; near which flows a river of the same name, which empties itself into the Euphrates. With the current of this river particles of bitumen descend towards Babylon, by the means of which its walls were constructed.

CLXXX. The great river Euphrates, which, with its deep and rapid streams, rises in the Armenian mountains, and pours itself into the Red Sea [229],

[228] *Gates of brass.*]—Thus saith the Lord to his anointed, to Cyrus: I will go before thee; I will break in pieces the gates of brass.—*Isaiah.*

[229] *Red Sea.*]—The original Erythrean or Red Sea was that part of the Indian ocean which forms the peninsula of Arabia; the Persian and Arabian gulphs being only branches of it.—*T.*

 divides

divides Babylon into two parts. The walls meet and form an angle with the river at each extremity of the town, where a breaſt-work of burnt bricks begins, and is continued along each bank. The city, which abounds in houſes from three to four ſtories in height, is regularly divided into ſtreets. Through theſe, which are parallel, there are tranſverſe avenues to the river opened through the wall and breaſt-work, and ſecured by an equal number of little gates of braſs.

CLXXXI. The firſt wall is regularly fortified; the interior one, though leſs in ſubſtance, is of almoſt equal ſtrength. Beſides theſe, in the centre of each diviſion of the city there is a circular ſpace ſurrounded by a wall. In one of theſe ſtands the royal palace, which fills a large and ſtrongly defended ſpace. The temple of Jupiter Belus [230] occupies the other, whoſe huge gates of braſs may ſtill be ſeen. It is a ſquare building, each ſide of which is of the length of two furlongs. In the midſt a

230 *Temple of Jupiter Belus.*]—It is neceſſary to have in mind, that the temples of the ancients were eſſentially different from our churches. A large ſpace was incloſed by walls, in which were courts, a grove, pieces of water, apartments ſometimes for the prieſts; and laſtly the temple, properly ſo called, and where moſt frequently it was permitted the prieſts alone to enter. The whole incloſure was named το ιερον: the temple, properly ſo called, or the reſidence of the deity, was called ναος (naos) or the cell. It is obvious, that this laſt is the place particularly alluded to.—*Larcher.*

Bel and Belus was a title beſtowed upon many perſons. It was particularly given to Nimrod, who built the city Babel or Babylon.—*Bryant.*

tower

tower rises, of the solid depth and height of one furlong; upon which, resting as a base, seven other turrets are built in regular succession. The ascent is on the outside, which, winding from the ground, is continued to the highest tower; and in the middle of the whole structure there is a convenient resting-place. In the last tower is a large chapel, in which is placed a couch magnificently adorned, and near it a table of solid gold; but there is no statue in the place. No man is suffered to sleep here; but the apartment is occupied by a female, whom the Chaldean priests[231] affirm that their deity selects from the whole nation as the object of his pleasures.

CLXXXII. They themselves have a tradition, which cannot easily obtain credit, that their deity enters this temple, and reposes by night on this couch. A similar assertion is also made by the Ægyptians of Thebes; for, in the interior part of the temple of the Thebean Jupiter, a woman in like manner sleeps. Of these two women, it is presumed that neither of them have any communication with the other sex. In which predicament the priestess of the temple of Pataræ in Lycia is also placed.

[231] *Chaldean priests.*]—Belus came originally from Ægypt. He went, accompanied by other Ægyptians, to Babylon: there he established priests; these are the personages called by the Babylonians Chaldeans. The Chaldeans carried to Babylon the science of astrology, which they learned from the Ægyptian priests.—*Larcher.*

Here is no regular oracle [232] ; but whenever a divine communication is expected, the prieftefs is obliged to pafs the preceding night in the temple.

CLXXXIII. In this temple there is alfo a fmall chapel, lower in the building, which contains a figure of Jupiter in a fitting pofture, with a large table before him ; thefe, with the bafe of the table, and the feat of the throne, are all of the pureft gold, and are eftimated by the Chaldæans to be worth eight hundred talents. On the outfide of this chapel there are two altars ; one is of gold, the other is of immenfe fize, and appropriated to the facrifice of full-grown animals : thofe only which have not left their dams may be offered on the altar of gold. Upon the larger altar, at the time of the anniverfary feftival in honour of their god, the Chaldæans regularly confume incenfe to the amount of a thoufand talents. There was formerly in this temple a ftatue of folid gold, twelve cubits high ; this, however, I mention from the information of the Chaldeans, and not from my own knowledge. Darius the fon of Hyftafpes [234] endeavoured by

[232] *Regular oracle.*]—According to Servius, Apollo communicated his oracles at Pataræ during the fix winter months, at Delos in the fix months of fummer.—*Larcher.*

[233] *Darius the fon of Hyftafpes.*]—The only Babylonifh and Perfian princes found in the Bible, are Nebuchadnezzar, Evil Merodach, Belfhazzar, Ahafuerus, Darius the Mede, Corefh, and Darius the Perfian ; Artaxerxes alfo is mentioned in Nehemiah. Ahafuerus has been the fubject of much etymological inveftigation,

by sinister means to get possession of this, not daring openly to take it; but his son Xerxes afterwards seized it, putting the priest to death who endeavoured to prevent its removal. The temple, besides those ornaments which I have described, contains many offerings of individuals.

CLXXXIV. Among the various sovereigns of Babylon, who contributed to the strength of its walls, and the decoration of its temples, and of whom I shall make mention when I treat of the Assyrians, there were two females, the former of these was named Semiramis [234], who preceded the other by an interval of five generations. This

gation. Sir Isaac Newton, by inadvertency, makes him in one place to be Cyaxares, in another Xerxes. Archbishop Usher supposes him to be Darius Hystaspes; Scaliger, Xerxes; Josephus, the Septuagint, and Dr. Hyde, Artaxerxes Longimanus. —*Richardson.*

234 *Semiramis.*]—It may be worth while to observe the different opinions of authors about the time when Semiramis is supposed to have lived.

	Years.
According to Syncellus, she lived before Christ -	2177
Petavius makes the term - - - - - - -	2060
Helvicus - - - - - - - - - - - -	2248
Eusebius - - - - - - - - - - -	1984
Mr. Jackson - - - - - - - - - -	1964
Archbishop Usher - - - - - - - -	1215
Philo Biblius, from Sanchoniathon, about - -	1200
Herodotus about - - - - - - - - -	713

What credit can be given to the history of a person, the time of whose life cannot be ascertained within 1535 years?—*Bryant.*

queen raiſed certain mounds, which are indeed admirable works; till then the whole plain was ſubject to violent inundations from the river.

CLXXXV. The other queen was called Nitocris; ſhe being a woman of ſuperior underſtanding, not only left many permanent works, which I ſhall hereafter deſcribe, but alſo having obſerved the encreaſing power and reſtleſs ſpirit of the Medes, and that Nineveh, with other cities, had fallen a prey to their ambition, put her dominions in the ſtrongeſt poſture of defence. To effect this, ſhe ſunk a number of canals above Babylon, which by their diſpoſition rendered the Euphrates, which before flowed to the ſea in an almoſt even line, ſo complicated by its windings, that in its paſſage to Babylon it arrives three times at Ardericca, an Aſſyrian village: and to this hour they who wiſh to go from the ſea up the Euphrates to Babylon, are compelled to touch at Ardericca three times on three different days. The banks alſo, which ſhe raiſed to reſtrain the river on each ſide, are really wonderful, from their enormous height and ſubſtance. At a conſiderable diſtance above Babylon, turning aſide a little from the ſtream, ſhe ordered an immenſe lake to be dug, ſinking it till they came to the water; its circumference was no leſs than four hundred and twenty furlongs. The earth of this was applied to the embankments of the river; and the ſides of the trench or lake were ſtrengthened and lined with ſtones, brought thither for that purpoſe. She had in view by

theſe

these works, first of all to break the violence of the current by the number of circumflexions, and also to render the navigation to Babylon as difficult and tedious as possible. These things were done in that part of her dominions which was most accessible to the Medes; and with the farther view of keeping them in ignorance of her affairs, by giving them no commercial encouragement.

CLXXXVI. Having rendered both of these works strong and secure, she proceeded to execute the following project. The city being divided by the river into two distinct parts, whoever wanted to go from one side to the other was obliged, in the time of the former kings, to pass the water in a boat. For this, which was a matter of general inconvenience, she provided this remedy, and the immense lake which she had before sunk became the farther means of extending her fame:—Having procured a number of large stones, she changed the course of the river, directing it into the canal prepared for its reception. When this was full, the natural bed of the river became dry, and the embankments on each side, near those smaller gates which led to the water, were lined with bricks hardened by fire, similar to those which had been used in the construction of the wall. She afterwards, nearly in the centre of the city, with the stones above-mentioned, strongly compacted with iron and with lead, erected a bridge [235]; over this

[235] *A bridge.*]—Diodorus Siculus represents this bridge as five

this the inhabitants passed in the day time by a square platform, which was removed in the evening to prevent acts of mutual depredation. When the above canal was thoroughly filled with water, and the bridge completely finished and adorned, the Euphrates was suffered to return to its original bed: thus both the canal and the bridge were confessedly of the greatest utility to the public.

CLXXXVII. The above queen was also celebrated for another instance of ingenuity: she caused her tomb[236] to be erected over one of the principal

five furlongs in length; but as Strabo assures us that the Euphrates was no more than one furlong wide, Rollin is of opinion that the bridge could not be so long as Diodorus describes it. Although the Euphrates was, generally speaking, no more than one furlong in breadth, at the time of a flood it was probably more; and, doubtless, the length of the bridge was proportioned to the extremest possible width of the river. This circumstance M. Rollin does not seem to have considered. The Mansanares, which washes one of the extremities of Madrid, is but a small stream: but as, in the time of a flood, it spreads itself over the neighbouring fields, Philip the Second built a bridge eleven hundred feet long. The bridge of Semiramis, its length alone excepted, must have been very inferior to these of ours. It consisted only of large masses of stone, piled upon each other at regular distances, without arches; they were made to communicate by pieces of wood thrown over each pile.—*Larcher.*

236 *Her tomb.*]—Nitocris, in this instance, deviated from the customs of her country. The Assyrians, to preserve the bodies of their dead the longer from putrefaction, covered them with honey: the Romans did the same. As to their funeral rites, the Assyrians in all respects imitated the Ægyptians.—*T.*

It

cipal gates of the city, and so situated as to be obvious to universal inspection: it was thus inscribed—"If any of the sovereigns, my successors, shall be in extreme want of money, let him open my tomb, and take what money he may think proper; if his necessity be not great, let him forbear, the experiment will perhaps be dangerous." The tomb remained without injury till the time and reign of Darius. He was equally offended at the gate's being rendered useless, and that the invitation thus held out to become affluent, should have been so long neglected. The gate, it is to be observed, was of no use, from the general aversion to pass through a place over which a dead body was laid. Darius opened the tomb; but instead of finding riches, he saw only the dead body, with a label of this import: "If your avarice had not been equally base and insatiable, you would not have intruded on the repose of the dead."—Such are the traditions concerning this queen.

CLXXXVIII. Against her son Labynitus, who, with the name of his father, enjoyed the empire of Assyria, Cyrus conducted his army. The great king [237], in his warlike expeditions, is provided from

It appears from Plutarch, that the tomb of Cyrus, and of many of the princes of the East, were within the precincts of their cities.—*Bryant.*

237 *Great king.*]—This was the title by which the Greeks always distinguished the monarchs of Persia. The emperor of Constantinople is at the present day called the grand signior.—*Larcher.*

Lofty

from home with cattle, and all other neceſſaries for his table. There is alſo carried with him water of the river Choaſpes [238], which flows near Suſa, for the king drinks of no other; wherever he goes he is attended by a number of four-wheeled carriages, drawn by mules, in which the water of Choaſpes, being firſt boiled, is diſpoſed in veſſels of ſilver.

CLXXXIX. Cyrus in his march to Babylon arrived at the river Gyndes, which riſing in the mountains of Matiene, and paſſing through the country of the Darneans, loſes itſelf in the Tigris: and this, after flowing by Opis, is finally diſcharged into the Red Sea. Whilſt Cyrus was endeavouring to paſs this

Lofty titles have always been, and ſtill continue to be conferred upon the Oriental princes.—Thus ſaith Cyrus king of Perſia, The Lord God of heaven hath given me all the kingdoms of the earth.—*Ezra*, i. 2.

For I never hurt any that was willing to ſerve Nabuchodonoſor, king of all the earth.—*Judith*, xi. 1.

238 *Choaſpe.*]—

> There Suſa by Choaſpe's amber ſtream,
> The drink of none but kings.
>
> *Milton's Paradiſe Regained*, Book ii.

Upon the above paſſage of Milton, Jortin has this remark; "I am afraid Milton is here miſtaken. That the kings of Perſia drank no water but that of the river Choaſpes, is well known: that none *but* kings drank of it, is what I believe cannot be proved."

Ælian relates, that Xerxes during his march came to a deſert place, and was exceedingly thirſty; his attendants with his baggage were at ſome diſtance: proclamation was made, that whoever had any of the water of Choaſpes ſhould produce it for

this river, which could not be performed without boats, one of the white consecrated horses boldly entering the stream, in his attempts to cross it was borne away by the rapidity of the current, and totally lost. Cyrus, exasperated [239] by the accident, made a vow, that he would render this stream so very insignificant, that women should hereafter be able to cross it without so much as wetting their knees. He accordingly suspended his designs upon Babylon, and divided his forces into two parts: he then marked out with a line, on each side the river, one hundred and eighty trenches; these were dug according to his orders, and so great a number of men were employed, that he accomplished his purpose, but he thus wasted the whole of that summer.

CXC. Cyrus having thus satisfied his resentment with respect to the Gyndes, on the approach

for the use of the king. One person was found who possessed a small quantity, but it was quite putrid: Xerxes, however, drank it, and considered the person who supplied it as his friend and benefactor, as he must otherwise have perished with thirst.—*T.*

239 *Cyrus, exasperated.*]—This portrait of Cyrus seems to me a little overcharged. The hatred which the Greeks bore the Persians is sufficiently known. The motive with Cyrus for thus treating the Gyndes could not be such as is here described. That which happened to the sacred horse might make him apprehend a similar fate for the rest of his army, and compel him to divert the river into a great number of canals to render it fordable. A similar example occurs in a preceding chapter.—*Larcher.*

of

of ſpring prepared to march towards Babylon; the Babylonians awaited him in arms: as he advanced they met and gave him battle, but were defeated, and chaſed into the town. The inhabitants were well acquainted with the reſtleſs and ambitious temper of Cyrus, and had guarded againſt this event, by collecting proviſions and other neceſſaries ſufficient for many years ſupport, which induced them to regard a ſiege as a matter of but ſmall importance; and Cyrus, after much time loſt, without having made the ſmalleſt progreſs, was reduced to great perplexity.

CXCI. Whilſt in this ſtate of anxiety he adopted the following expedient, either from the ſuggeſtions of others, or from the deliberation of his own judgment:—He placed one detachment of his forces where the river firſt enters the city, and another where it leaves it, directing them to enter the channel, and attack the town whenever a paſſage could be effected. After this diſpoſition of his men, he withdrew with the leſs effective of his troops to the marſhy ground which we have before deſcribed. Here he purſued in every reſpect the example of the Babylonian princeſs; he pierced the bank, and introduced the river into the lake, by which means the bed of the Euphrates became ſufficiently ſhallow for the object in view. The Perſians in their ſtation watched the proper opportunity, and when the ſtream had ſo far retired as not to be higher than their thighs, they entered Babylon without difficulty. If the beſieged had either been

been aware of the designs of Cyrus, or had discovered the project before its actual accomplishment, they might have effected the total destruction of these troops. They had only to secure the little gates which led to the river, and to have manned the embankments on either side, and they might have enclosed the Persians in a net from which they could never have escaped: as it happened, they were taken by surprize; and such is the extent of the city, that, as the inhabitants themselves affirm, they who lived in the extremities were made prisoners, before any alarm was communicated [240] to the centre of the place. It was a day of festivity among them, and whilst the citizens were engaged in dance and merriment, Babylon was, for the first time, thus taken.

CXCII. The following exists, amongst many other proofs which I shall hereafter produce, of the power and greatness of Babylon. Independent of those subsidies which are paid monthly to the Persian monarch, the whole of his dominions are obliged throughout the year to provide subsistence for him and for his army. Babylon alone raises a supply for four months, eight being proportioned to all the rest of Asia; so that the resources of this

[240] *Any alarm was communicated.*]—They who were in the citadel did not know of the capture of the place till the break of day, which is not at all improbable: but it exceeds belief, what Aristotle affirms, that even on the third day it was not known in some quarters of the town that Babylon was taken.—*Larcher.*

region

region are confidered as adequate to a third part of Afia. The government alfo of this country, which the Perfians call a fatrapy, is deemed by much the nobleft in the empire[241]. When Tritantæchmes, fon of Artabazus, was appointed to this principality by the king, he received every day an artaby of filver. The artaby is a Perfian meafure, which exceeds the Attic medimnus by about three chænices. Befides his horfes for military fervice, this province maintained for the fovereign's ufe a ftud of eight hundred ftallions, and fixteen thoufand mares, one horfe being allotted to twenty mares. He had moreover fo immenfe a number of Indian dogs[242], that four great towns in the vicinity of Babylon were exempted from all other tax but that of maintaining them.

CXCIII. The Affyrians have but little rain, the lands, however, are fertilized, and the fruits of the earth nourifhed by means of the river. This does

241 The defcription of Affyria, fays Mr. Gibbon, is furnifhed by Herodotus, who fometimes writes for children and fometimes for philofophers. It is given alfo by Strabo and Ammianus. The moft ufeful of the modern travellers are Tavernier, Otter, and Niebuhr: yet I muft regret, adds the hiftorian, that the Trak Arabi of Abulfeda has never been tranflated.

242 *Indian dogs.*]—Thefe were very celebrated. The ancients, in general, believed them to be produced from a bitch and a tiger. The Indians pretend, fays Pliny, that the bitches are lined by tigers, and for this reafon when they are at heat they confine them in fome part of the forefts. The firft and fecond race they deem to be remarkably fierce; they bring up alfo the third.—*Larcher.*

not

not [243], like the Ægyptian Nile, enrich the country by overflowing its banks, but is diſperſed by manual labour, or by hydraulic engines. The Babylonian diſtrict, like Ægypt, is interſected by a number of canals [244], the largeſt of which, continued with a ſouth eaſt courſe from the Euphrates to that part of the Tigris where Nineveh ſtands, is capable of receiving veſſels of burden. Of all countries which have come within my obſervation, this is far the moſt fruitful in corn. Fruit-trees, ſuch as the vine, the olive, and the fig, they do not even attempt to cultivate; but the ſoil is ſo particularly well adapted for corn, that it never produces leſs than two hundred fold; in ſeaſons which are remarkably favourable, it will ſometimes riſe to three hundred: the ear of their wheat as well as barley is four digits in ſize. The immenſe height to which millet and ſeſamum [245] will grow, although I have witneſſed it

243 *This does not, &c.*]—The Euphrates occaſionally overflows its banks, but its inundations do not, like thoſe of the Nile, communicate fertility. The ſtreams of the Euphrates and the Tigris do not, ſays Pliny, leave behind them the mud which the Nile does in Ægypt.—*Larcher.*

244 *Number of canals.*]—The uſes of theſe artificial canals were various and important: they ſerved to diſcharge the ſuperfluous waters from one river into the other, at the ſeaſon of their reſpective inundations; ſubdividing themſelves into ſmaller and ſmaller branches, they refreſhed the dry lands, and ſupplied the deficiency of rain. They facilitated the intercourſe of peace and commerce; and as the dams could be ſpeedily broken down, they armed the deſpair of the Aſſyrians with the means of oppoſing a ſudden deluge to the progreſs of an invading army.—*Gibbon.*

245 *Seſamum.*]—Of this plant there are three ſpecies; the Orientale,

it myſelf, I know not how to mention. I am well aware that they who have not viſited this country will deem whatever I may ſay on the ſubject a violation of probability. They have no oil but what they extract from the ſeſamum. The palm [246] is a very common plant in this country, and generally fruitful: this they cultivate like fig-trees, and it produces them bread, wine, and honey. The proceſs [247] obſerved is this: they faſten the fruit of that which the Greeks term the male tree to the one which produces the date, by this means the worm which is contained in the former enter-

Orientale, the Indicum, and the Trifelictum: it is the firſt kind which is here meant. It is an annual herbaceous plant; its flowers are of a dirty white, and not unlike the fox-glove; it is cultivated in the Levant as a pulſe, and indeed in all the eaſtern countries; it has of late years been introduced into Carolina, and with ſucceſs; an oil is expreſſed from its ſeed; it is the ſeed which is eaten: they are firſt parched over the fire, and then ſtewed with other ingredients in water.—*T.*

246 *The palm.*]—The learned Kæmpfer, as a botaniſt, an antiquary, and a traveller, has exhauſted the whole ſubject of palm-trees. The diligent natives, adds Mr. Gibbon, celebrated either in verſe or proſe the three hundred and ſixty uſes to which the trunk, the branches, the leaves, the juice, and the fruit were ſkilfully applied.

247 *The proceſs.*]—Upon this ſubject the learned and induſtrious Larcher has exhauſted no leſs than ten pages. The ancients whom he cites are Ariſtotle, Theophraſtus, and Pliny; the moderns are Pontedera, and Tournefort, which laſt he quotes at conſiderable length. The Amœnitates Exoticæ of Kæmpfer, to which I have before alluded, will fully ſatisfy whoever wiſhes to be more minutely informed on one of the moſt curious and intereſting ſubjects which the ſcience of natural hiſtory involves.—*T.*

ing the fruit, ripens and prevents it from dropping immaturely. The male palms bear insects in their fruit, in the same manner as the wild fig-trees.

CXCIV. Of all that I saw in this country, next to Babylon itself, what to me appeared the greatest curiosity, were the boats. These which are used by those who come to the city are of a circular form, and made of skins. They are constructed in Armenia, in the parts above Assyria, where the sides of the vessels being formed of willow [248], are covered externally with skins, and having no distinction of head or stern, are modelled into the shape of a shield. Lining the bottoms of these boats with reeds, they take on board their merchandize, and thus commit themselves to the stream. The principal article of their commerce is palm wine, which they carry in casks. The boats have two oars, one man

248 *Formed of willow, &c.*]—

The bending willow into barks they twine,
Then line the work with skins of slaughter'd kine;
Such are the floats Venetian fishers know,
Where in dull marshes stands the settling Po:
On such to neighbouring Gaul, allur'd by gain,
The bolder Britons cross the swelling main.
Like these, when fruitful Egypt lies afloat,
The Memphian artist builds his reedy boat.

Rowe's Lucan.

The navigation of the Euphrates never ascended above Babylon.—*Gibbon.*

I have been informed, that a kind of canoe made in a similar form, and precisely of the same materials, is now in use in Monmouthshire, and other parts of Wales, and called a corricle.—*T.*

to each; one pulls to him, the other pushes from him. These boats are of very different dimensions; some of them are so large as to bear freights to the value of five thousand talents: the smaller of them has one ass on board; the larger, several. On their arrival at Babylon, they dispose of all their cargo, selling the ribs of their boats, the matting, and every thing but the skins which cover them; these they lay upon their asses, and with them return to Armenia. The rapidity of the stream is too great to render their return by water practicable. This is perhaps the reason which induces them to make their boats of skin, rather than of wood. On their return with their asses to Armenia, they make other vessels in the manner we have before described.

CXCV. Their clothing is of this kind: they have two vests, one of linen which falls to the feet, another over this which is made of wool; a white sash covers the whole. The fashion of their shoes [249]

249 *Fashion of their shoes.*]—The Bœotian shoes were made of wood, and came up part of the leg. The dresses for the feet and legs amongst the Greeks and Romans were nearly the same; they had both shoes and sandals, the former covered the whole foot, the last consisted of one or of more soals, and were fastened with thongs above the foot. In the simplicity of primitive manners, the feet were only protected by raw hides. It is said in Dion Cassius, that Julius Cæsar gave offence at Rome, by wearing high-heeled shoes of a red colour. The shoes of the Roman senators were distinguished by a crescent. A particular form of shoe or sandal was appropriated to the army; and a description of thirty different kinds, as used by the Romans and such nations as they deemed barbarous, may be found in Montfaucon.—*T.*

is peculiar to themſelves, though ſomewhat reſembling thoſe worn by the Thebans. Their hair [250] they wear long, and covered with a turban, and are laviſh in their uſe of perfumes [251]. Each perſon has a ſeal ring, and a cane, or walking-ſtick, upon the top of which is carved an apple [252], a roſe, a lily, an eagle, or ſome figure or other; for to have a ſtick without a device, is unlawful.

CXCVI. In my deſcription of their laws, I have to mention one, the wiſdom of which I muſt admire; and which, if I am not miſinformed, the Eneti, who are of Illyrian origin, uſe alſo. In each of

250 *Their hair.*]—It cannot be a matter of the ſmalleſt importance, to know whether the Babylonians wore their hair ſhort, or ſuffered it to grow. But it is a little ſingular, that in this inſtance Strabo formally contradicts Herodotus, although in others he barely copies him.—*Larcher*.

251 *Perfumes.*]—The uſe of aromatics in the Eaſt may be dated from the remoteſt antiquity; they are at the preſent period introduced, not only upon every religious and feſtive occaſion, but as one eſſential inſtrument of private hoſpitality and friendſhip. "Ointment and perfume," ſays Solomon, "rejoice the heart." At the preſent day, to ſprinkle their gueſts with roſe-water, and to perfume them with aloes wood, is an indiſpenſable ceremony at the cloſe of every viſit in Eaſtern countries. At the beginning of the preſent century they were conſidered as a proof of great extravagance and unuſual luxury; they have of late years been continually becoming more and more familiar, till they have at length ceaſed to be any diſtinction of elegance, of fortune, or of rank.—*T.*

252 *An apple.*]—What, in common with Littlebury and Larcher, I have tranſlated apple, Mr. Bryant underſtands to be a pomegranate, which, he ſays, was worn by the ancient Perſians on their walking-ſticks and ſceptres, on account of its being a ſacred emblem.—*T.*

their ſeveral diſtricts this cuſtom was every year obſerved: ſuch of their virgins as were marriageable were at an appointed time and place aſſembled together. Here the men alſo came, and ſome public officer ſold by auction[253] the young women one by one, beginning with the moſt beautiful. When ſhe was diſpoſed of, and as may be ſuppoſed for a conſiderable ſum, he proceeded to ſell the one who was next in beauty, taking it for granted that each man married the maid he purchaſed. The more affluent of the Babylonian youths contended with much ardour and emulation to obtain the moſt beautiful: thoſe of the common people who were deſirous of marrying, as if they had but little occaſion for perſonal accompliſhments, were content to receive the

[253] *Sold by auction.*]—Herodotus here omits one circumſtance of conſequence, in my opinion, to prove that this ceremony was conducted with decency. It paſſed under the inſpection of the magiſtrates; and the tribunal whoſe office it was to take cognizance of the crime of adultery, ſuperintended the marriage of the young women. Three men, reſpectable for their virtue, and who were at the head of their ſeveral tribes, conducted the young women that were marriageable to the place of aſſembly, and there ſold them by the voice of the public crier.—*Larcher.*

If the cuſtom of diſpoſing of the young women to the beſt bidder was peculiar to the Babylonians, that of purchaſing the perſon intended for a wife, and of giving the father a ſum to obtain her, was much more general. It was practiſed amongſt the Greeks, the Trojans, and their allies, and even amongſt the deities.—*Bellanger.*

Three daughters in my court are bred,
And each well worthy of a royal bed:
Laodice, and Iphigenia fair,
And bright Chryſothemis with golden hair.
Her let him chooſe, whom moſt his eyes approve;
I aſk no preſents, no reward for love.—*Pope's Iliad.*

more

more homely maidens, with a portion annexed to them. For the crier, when he had sold the fairest, selected also the most ugly, or one that was deformed; she also was put up to sale, and assigned to whoever would take her with the least money. This money was what the sale of the beautiful maidens produced, who were thus obliged to portion out those who were deformed, or less lovely than themselves. No man was permitted to provide a match for his daughter, nor could any one take away the woman whom he purchased, without first giving security to make her his wife. To this if he did not assent, his money was returned him. There were no restrictions with respect to residence; those of another village might also become purchasers. This, although the most wise of all their institutions, has not been preserved to our time. One of their later ordinances was made to punish violence offered to women, and to prevent their being carried away to other parts; for after the city had been taken, and the inhabitants plundered, the lower people were reduced to such extremities, that they prostituted their daughters for hire.

CXCVII. They have also another institution, the good tendency of which claims our applause. Such as are diseased [254] among them they carry into

[254] *Diseased.*]—We may from hence observe the first rude commencement of the science of medicine. Syrianus is of opinion, that this science originated in Ægypt, from those persons who had been disordered in any part of their bodies writing down the remedies from which they received benefit.—*Larcher.*

ſome public ſquare: they have no profeſſors of medicine, but the paſſengers in general interrogate the ſick perſon concerning his malady; that if any perſon has either been afflicted with a ſimilar diſeaſe himſelf, or ſeen its operation on another, he may communicate the proceſs by which his own recovery was effected, or by which, in any other inſtance, he knew the diſeaſe to be removed. No one may paſs by the afflicted perſon in ſilence, or without enquiry into the nature of his complaint.

CXCVIII. Previous to their interment, their dead are anointed with honey, and, like the Ægyptians, they are fond of funeral lamentations. Whenever a man has had communication with his wife[255], he ſits over a conſecrated veſſel, containing burning perfumes; the woman does the ſame. In the morning both of them go into the bath; till after which application they will neither of them touch any domeſtic utenſil. This cuſtom is alſo obſerved in Arabia.

CXCIX. The Babylonians have one cuſtom in the higheſt degree abominable. Every woman who is a native of the country is obliged once in her

[255] *Communication with his wife.*]—I much approve of the reply of Theano, wife of Pythagoras. A perſon enquired of her, what time was required for a woman to become pure, after having had communication with a man. "She is pure immediately," anſwered Theano, "if the man be her huſband; but if he be not her huſband, no time will make her ſo." *Larcher, from Diogenes Laertius.*

Ablution after ſuch a connection is ſanctified by the Mahometan law.—*T.*

life to attend at the temple of Venus, and prostitute herself [256] to a stranger. Such women as are of superior rank do not omit even this opportunity of separating themselves from their inferiors; these go to the temple in splendid chariots, accompanied by a numerous train of domestics, and place themselves near the entrance. This is the practice with many; whilst the greater part, crowned with garlands, seat themselves in the vestibule; and there are always numbers coming and going. The seats have all of

256 *Prostitute herself.*]—This, as an historical fact, is questioned by some, and by Voltaire in particular; but it is mentioned by Jeremiah, who lived almost two centuries before Herodotus, and by Strabo, who lived long after him. See Baruch, vi. 42.

"The women also with cords about them sitting in the ways, burn bran for perfume. But if any of them, drawn by some that passeth by, lie with him, she reproacheth her fellow, that she was not thought as worthy as herself, nor her cord broken."

Upon the above Mr. Bryant remarks, that instead of women, it should probably be read virgins; and that this custom was universally kept up wherever the Persian religion prevailed. Strabo is more particular: "Not only," says he, "the men and maid-servants prostitute themselves, but people of the first fashion devote in the same manner their own daughters. Nor is any body at all scrupulous about cohabiting with a woman who has been thus abused.

Upon the custom itself no comment can be required; Herodotus calls it, what it must appear to every delicate mind, in the highest degree base.

The prostitution of women, considered as a religious institution, was not only practised at Babylon, but at Heliopolis; at Aphace, a place betwixt Heliopolis and Biblus; at Sicca Veneria, in Africa, and also in the isle of Cyprus. It was at Aphace that Venus was supposed, according to the author of the Etymologicum Magnum, to have first received the embraces of Adonis.—*T.*

them

them a rope or ſtring annexed to them, by which the ſtranger may determine his choice. A woman having once taken this ſituation, is not allowed to return home, till ſome ſtranger throws her a piece of money; and leading her to a diſtance from the temple, enjoys her perſon. It is uſual for the man, when he gives the money, to ſay, "May the goddeſs Mylitta be auſpicious to thee!" Mylitta being the Aſſyrian name of Venus. The money given is applied to ſacred uſes, and muſt not be refuſed, however ſmall it may be. The woman, not ſuffered to make any diſtinction, is obliged to accompany whoever offers her money. She afterwards makes ſome conciliatory oblation to the goddeſs, and returns to her houſe, never afterwards to be obtained on ſimilar, or on any terms. Such as are eminent for their elegance and beauty do not continue long, but thoſe who are of leſs engaging appearance, have ſometimes been known to remain from three to four years, unable to accompliſh the terms of the law. It is to be remarked, that the inhabitants of Cyprus have a ſimilar obſervance.

CC. In addition to the foregoing account of Babylonian manners, we may obſerve, that there are three tribes of this people whoſe only food is fiſh. They prepare it thus; having dried it in the ſun, they beat it very ſmall in a mortar, and afterwards ſift it through a piece of fine cloth, they then form it into cakes, or bake it as bread.

CCI. After his conqueſt of this people, Cyrus

extended his ambitious views to the Maſſagetæ, a great and powerful nation, whoſe territories extend beyond the river Araxes, to the extreme parts of the Eaſt. They are oppoſite to the Iſſedonians, and are by ſome eſteemed a Scythian nation.

CCII. Concerning the magnitude of the Araxes, there are various repreſentations; ſome pronouncing it leſs, others greater, than the Danube. There are many iſlands ſcattered up and down in it, ſome of which are nearly equal to Leſbos in extent. The people who inhabit theſe ſubſiſt during the ſummer on ſuch roots as they dig out of the earth, preſerving for their winter's proviſion the ripe produce of their fruit-trees. They have amongſt them a tree whoſe fruit has a moſt ſingular property. Aſſembled round a fire, which they make for this purpoſe, they throw into the midſt of it the above fruit, and the ſame inebriation is communicated to them from the ſmell, as the Greeks experience from exceſs of wine. As they become more exhilarated, they throw on a greater quantity of fruit, and are at length ſo far tranſported as to leap up, dance, and ſing.—This is what I have heard of the cuſtoms of this people. The Araxes, like the Gyndes, which Cyrus divided into three hundred and ſixty rivulets, riſes among the Matienian hills. It ſeparates itſelf into forty mouths [257], all of which, except one, loſe themſelves in

[257] *Forty mouths.*]—What Herodotus ſays of the Araxes, is in a great meaſure true of the Volga, which empties itſelf into the Caſpian

in bogs and marſhes, among which a people are ſaid to dwell, who feed upon raw fiſh, and clothe themſelves with the ſkins of ſea-calves. The larger ſtream of the Araxes continues its even courſe to the Caſpian.

CCIII. The Caſpian is an ocean by itſelf, and communicates with no other. The ſea frequented by the Greeks, the Red Sea, and that beyond the Pillars, called the Atlantic, are all one ocean. The Caſpian forms one unconnected ſea: a ſwift-oared boat would in fifteen days meaſure its length, its extreme breadth in eight. It is bounded on the weſt by mount Caucaſus, the largeſt and perhaps the higheſt mountain in the world. Caucaſus is inhabited by various nations [258], many of whom are ſaid to ſubſiſt on what the ſoil ſpontaneouſly produces. They have trees whoſe leaves poſſeſs a moſt ſingular property: they beat them to powder, and then ſteep them in water; this forms a dye [259], with which they paint on their garments figures of animals. The impreſſion is ſo very ſtrong, that it

Caſpian by a number of channels, in which many conſiderable iſlands are ſcattered. But this river does not, nor indeed can it come from the Matienian mountains.—*Larcher.*

258 *Various nations.*]—Of theſe the principal were the Colchians, of the excellent produce and circumſtances of whoſe country a minute and entertaining account is given by Strabo. —*T.*

259 *Forms a dye.*]—By the diſcovery of cochineal, we far ſurpaſs the colours of antiquity. Their royal purple had a ſtrong ſmell, and a dark caſt, as deep as bull's blood.—*Gibbon.*

cannot

cannot be washed out; it appears to be interwoven in the cloth, and wears as long as the garment. The sexes communicate promiscuously, and in public, like the brutes.

CCIV. Caucasus terminates that part of the Caspian which extends to the west: it is bounded on the east by a plain of prodigious extent, a considerable part of which forms the country of the Massagetæ, against whom Cyrus meditated an attack. He was invited and urged by many strong incentives. When he considered the peculiar circumstances of his birth, he believed himself more than human. He reflected also on the prosperity of his arms, and that wherever he had extended his incursions, he had been followed by success and victory.

CCV. The Massagetæ were then governed by a queen, she was a widow, and her name Tomyris. Cyrus sent ambassadors to her with overtures of marriage; the queen, concluding that his real object was the possession, not of her person, but her kingdom, forbad his approach. Cyrus, on finding these measures ineffectual, advanced to the Araxes, openly discovering his hostile designs upon the Massagetæ. He accordingly threw a bridge of boats over the river for the passage of his forces, which he also fortified with turrets.

CCVI. Whilst he was engaged in this difficult undertaking, Tomyris sent by her ambassadors this message: "Sovereign of the Medes, uncertain as you

you muſt be of the event, we adviſe you to deſiſt from your preſent purpoſe. Be ſatisfied with the dominion of your own kingdom, and ſuffer us to retain what is certainly our own. You will not, however, liſten to this ſalutary counſel, loving any thing rather than peace: If, then, you are really impatient to encounter the Maſſagetæ, give up your preſent labour of conſtructing a bridge, we will retire three days march into our country, and you ſhall paſs over at your leiſure; or, if you had rather receive us in your own territories, do you as much for us." On hearing this, Cyrus called a council of his principal officers, and, laying the matter before them, deſired their advice how to act. They were unanimouſly of opinion, that he ſhould retire, and expect Tomyris in his own dominions.

CCVII. Crœſus the Lydian, who aſſiſted at the meeting, was of a different ſentiment, which he defended in this manner: " I have before remarked, O king! that ſince Providence has rendered me your captive, it becomes me to exert all my abilities in obviating whatever menaces you with miſfortune. I have been inſtructed in the ſevere but uſeful ſchool of adverſity. If you were immortal yourſelf, and commanded an army of immortals, my advice might be juſtly thought impertinent; but if you confeſs yourſelf a human leader, of forces that are human, it becomes you to remember that ſublunary events have a circular motion, and that their revolution does not permit the ſame man always to be fortunate. Upon this preſent ſubject of

debate

debate I diſſent from the majority. If you await the enemy in your own dominions, a defeat may chance to loſe you all your empire; the victorious Maſſagetæ, inſtead of retreating to their own, will make farther inroad into your territories. If you ſhall conquer, you will ſtill be a loſer by that interval of time and place which muſt be neceſſarily employed in the purſuit. I will ſuppoſe that, after victory, you will inſtantly advance into the dominions of Tomyris; yet can Cyrus the ſon of Cambyſes, without diſgrace and infamy, retire one foot of ground from a female adverſary? I would therefore recommend, that having paſſed over with our army, we proceed on our march till we meet the enemy; then let us contend for victory and honour. I have been informed the Maſſagetæ lead a life of the meaneſt poverty, ignorant of Perſian fare, of Perſian delicacies. Let theſe therefore be left behind in our camp: let there be abundance of food prepared, coſtly viands, and flowing goblets of wine. With theſe let us leave the leſs effective of the troops, and with the reſt again retire towards the river. If I err not, the foe will be allured by the ſight of our luxurious preparations, and afford us a noble occaſion of victory and glory."

CCVIII. The reſult of the debate was, that Cyrus preferred the ſentiments of Crœſus: he therefore returned for anſwer to Tomyris, that he would advance the ſpace into her dominions which ſhe had propoſed. She was faithful to her engagement, and retired accordingly: Cyrus then formally delegated

his

his authority to his ſon Cambyſes [260]; and above all recommended Crœſus to his care, as one whom, if the projected expedition ſhould fail, it would be his intereſt to diſtinguiſh by every poſſible mark of reverence and honour. He then diſmiſſed them into Perſia, and paſſed the river with his forces.

CCIX. As ſoon as he had advanced beyond the Araxes into the land of the Maſſagetæ, he ſaw in the night this viſion: He beheld the eldeſt ſon of Hyſtaſpes having wings upon his ſhoulders; one of which overſhadowed Aſia, the other Europe. Hyſtaſpes was the ſon of Arſamis, of the family of the Achæmenides; the name of his eldeſt ſon was Darius, a youth of about twenty, who had been left behind in Perſia as not yet of an age for military ſervice. Cyrus awoke, and revolved the matter in his mind: as it appeared to him of ſerious importance, he ſent for Hyſtaſpes to his preſence, and, diſmiſſing his attendants, "Hyſtaſpes," ſaid the king, "I will explain to you my reaſons, why I am ſatisfied beyond all diſpute that your ſon is now engaged in ſeditious deſigns againſt me and my authority. The gods, whoſe favour I enjoy, diſcloſe to me all thoſe events which menace my ſecurity. In the night juſt paſſed, I beheld your eldeſt ſon having wings upon his ſhoulders, one of which overſhadowed Aſia, the other Europe; from which

260 *His ſon Cambyſes.*]—When the Perſian kings went on any expedition, it was cuſtomary with them to name their ſucceſſor, in order to prevent the confuſion unavoidably ariſing from their dying without having done this.—*Larcher.*

I draw

I draw certain conclusions that he is engaged in acts of treachery against me. Do you therefore return instantly to Persia; and take care, that when I return victorious from my present expedition, your son may give me a satisfactory explanation of his conduct."

CCX. The strong apprehension of the treachery of Darius induced Cyrus thus to address the father; but the vision in reality imported that the death of Cyrus was at hand, and that Darius should succeed to his power. "Far be it, Oh king!" said Hystaspes in reply, "from any man of Persian origin to form conspiracies against his sovereign: if such there be, let immediate death be his portion. You have raised the Persians from slavery to freedom; from subjects, you have made them masters: if a vision has informed you that my son designs any thing against you, to you and to your disposal I shall deliver him." Hystaspes, after this interview, passed the Araxes on his return to Persia, fully intending to watch over his son, and deliver him to Cyrus.

CCXI. Cyrus, advancing a day's march from the Araxes, followed, in all respects, the counsel of Crœsus; and leaving behind him the troops upon which he had less dependence, he returned with his choicest men towards the Araxes. A detachment of about the third part of the army of the Massagetæ attacked the Persians whom Cyrus had left, and, after a feeble conflict, put them to the sword. When

 the

the ſlaughter ceaſed, they obſerved the luxuries which had artfully been prepared; and yielding to the allurement, they indulged themſelves in feaſting and wine, till drunkenneſs and ſleep overcame them. In this ſituation the Perſians attacked them: ſeveral were ſlain, but the greater part were made priſoners, among whom was Spargapiſes, their leader, the ſon of Tomyris.

CCXII. As ſoon as the queen heard of the defeat of her forces, and the capture of her ſon, ſhe diſpatched a meſſenger to Cyrus with theſe words: "Cyrus, inſatiable as you are of blood, be not too elate with your recent ſucceſs. When you yourſelf are overcome with wine, what follies do you not commit? By entering your bodies, it renders your language more inſulting. By this poiſon you have conquered my ſon, and neither by your prudence nor your valour. I venture a ſecond time to adviſe what it will be certainly your intereſt to follow, Reſtore my ſon to liberty, and, ſatisfied with the diſgrace you have put upon a third part of the Maſſagetæ, depart from theſe realms unhurt. If you will not do this, I ſwear by the Sun, the great god of the Maſſagetæ, that, inſatiable as you are of blood, I will give you your fill of it[261]."

CCXIII.

261 *Fill of blood.*]—With this ſtory of Cyrus that of the Roman Craſſus nearly correſponds. The wealth of Craſſus was only to be equalled by his avarice. He was taken priſoner in an expedition againſt the Parthians, who poured liquefied gold down his

CCXIII. These words made but little impression upon Cyrus. The son of Tomyris, when, recovering from his inebriated state, he knew the misfortune which had befallen him, intreated Cyrus to release him from his bonds: he obtained his liberty, and immediately destroyed himself.

CCXIV. On the refusal of Cyrus to listen to her counsel, Tomyris collected all her forces: a battle ensued, and of all the conflicts which ever took place amongst barbarians, this was I believe by far the most obstinately disputed. According to such particulars as I have been able to collect, the engagement began by a shower of arrows poured on both sides, from an interval of some distance; when these were all spent, they fought with their swords and spears, and for a long time neither party gained the smallest advantage: the Massagetæ were at length victorious, the greater part of the Persians were slain, Cyrus himself also fell; and thus terminated a reign of twenty-nine years. When after diligent search his body was found, Tomyris directed his head to be thrown into a vessel filled with human blood, and having insulted and mutilated the dead body, exclaimed, "Survivor and conqueror as I am, thou hast ruined my peace by thy successful stratagem against my son; but I will give thee now, as I threatened, thy fill of blood."—This account of the end of Cyrus seems to me most consistent

his throat, in order, as they said, that he whose thirst of gold could never be satisfied when he was alive, might be filled with it when dead.—*T.*

with probability, although there are many other and different relations [262].

CCXV. The Maſſagetæ in their cloaths and food reſemble the Scythians: they fight on horſeback and on foot, and are both ways formidable. They have ſpears, arrows, and battle-axes. They make much uſe both of gold and braſs. Their ſpears, the points of their arrows, and their battle-axes, are made of braſs; their helmets, their belts, and their breaſt-plates are decorated with gold. They bind alſo a plate of braſs on the cheſts of their horſes, whoſe reins, bits, and other harneſs, are plated with gold. They uſe neither iron nor ſilver, which indeed their country does not produce, though it abounds with gold and braſs.

CCXVI. Concerning their manners we have to obſerve, that though each man marries but one wife, ſhe is conſidered as common property. For what the Greeks aſſert in general of the Scythians, is true only of the Maſſagetæ. When a man of this country deſires to have communication with a woman, he hangs up his quiver before his waggon, and enjoys her without fear of interruption. To ſpeak of the number of years to which they live, is impoſ-

262 *Different relations.*]—Xenophon makes Cyrus die peaceably in his bed; Strabo inclines to this opinion; Lucian makes him live beyond the age of an hundred.—*Larcher.*

The Maſſagetæ are by ſome authors confounded with the Scythians. Diodorus Siculus calls Tomyris queen of the Scythians.—*Larcher.*

ſible.

ſible. As ſoon as any one becomes infirm through age, his aſſembled relations put him to death [263], boiling along with the body the fleſh of ſheep and other animals, upon which they feaſt: eſteeming univerſally this mode of death the happieſt. Of thoſe who die from any diſeaſe, they never eat; they bury them in the earth, and eſteem their fate a matter to be lamented, becauſe they have not lived to be ſacrificed. They ſow no grain, but entirely ſubſiſt upon cattle, and upon the fiſh which the river Araxes abundantly ſupplies; milk alſo conſtitutes a part of their diet. They ſacrifice horſes [264] to the ſun, their only deity, thinking it right to

[263] *Put him to death.*]—Hellanicus, ſpeaking of the Hyperboreans, who live beyond the Rhipean mountains, obſerves, that they learn juſtice, that they do not eat meat, but live entirely on fruit. Thoſe of ſixty years they carry out of the town, and put to death. Timæus ſays, that in Sardinia, when a man has paſſed the age of ſeventy years, his ſons, in honour of Saturn, and with ſeeming ſatisfaction, beat his brains out with clubs, and throw him from ſome frightful precipice. The inhabitants of Iulis, in the iſle of Ceos, oblige thoſe who are paſt the age of ſixty years to drink hemlock, &c.

This cuſtom, ſo contrary to our manners, will, doubtleſs, appear fabulous to thoſe who are no friends to antiquity, and whoſe judgments are regulated entirely by modern manners. It is practiſed neverthelefs at the preſent day in the kingdom of Aracan: the inhabitants of this country accelerate the death of their friends and relations, when they ſee them afflicted by a painful old age, or incurable diſeaſe; it is with them an act of piety.—*Larcher.*

[264] *Sacrifice horſes.*]—This was a very ancient cuſtom: it was practiſed in Perſia in the time of Cyrus, and was probably anterior to that prince. Horſes were alſo ſacrificed to Neptune, and

to offer the swiftest of mortal animals, to the swiftest of immortal beings.

and the deities of the rivers, being precipitated into the sea or into rivers.

Sextus Pompeius threw into the sea horses and live oxen, in honour of Neptune, whose son he professed himself to be.—*Larcher.*

Placat equo Persis radiis Hyperiona cinctum
Ne detur celeri victima tarda deo.—*Ovid.*

HERODOTUS.

BOOK II.

EUTERPE.

CHAP. I.

CAMBYSES, the ſon of Cyrus, by Caſſandana, daughter of Phanaſpe, ſucceeded his father. The wife of Cyrus had died before him; he had lamented her loſs himſelf with the ſincereſt grief, and commanded all his ſubjects to exhibit public marks of ſorrow [1]. Cambyſes thus deſcended, conſidered the Ionians and Æolians as his ſlaves by

[1] *Public marks of ſorrow.*]—Admetus pays the ſame tribute of reſpect to the memory of his deceaſed wife Alceſtis.

Πᾶσιν δὲ Θεσσαλοῖσιν, ὧν ἐγὼ κρατῶ,
Πένθος γυναικὸς τῆσδε κοινοῦσθαι λέγω,
Κάρᾳ ξυρήκει καὶ πέπλοις μελαγχίμοις.

Euripid. Alceſt. 425.

Which is thus rendered by Potter:

Through my realms of Theſſaly
I give command, that all, in ſolemn grief
For this dear woman, ſhear their locks, and wear
The ſolemn garb of mourning. *T.*

 right

right of inheritance:—He undertook therefore an expedition against Ægypt, and assembled an army for this purpose, composed as well of his other subjects as of those Greeks who acknowledged his authority.

II. Before the reign of their king Psammitichus [2], the Ægyptians esteemed themselves the most ancient of the human race; but when this prince came to the throne he took considerable pains to investigate the truth of this matter; the result was, that they believe the Phrygians more ancient than themselves, and themselves than the rest of mankind. Whilst Psammitichus was engaged in this enquiry, he contrived the following as the most effectual means of removing his perplexity. He procured two children just born, of humble parentage, and gave them to a shepherd to be brought up among his flocks. He was ordered never to speak before them; to place them in a sequestered hut, and at proper intervals to bring them goats, whose milk they might suck whilst he was attending to other employments. His object was to know what word they would first pronounce articulately. The experiment succeeded to his wish; the shepherd complied with each particular of his directions, and at the end of two years, on his one day opening the door of their apartment, both the

[2] *Before the reign of their king Psammitichus.*]—It is read indifferently Psammetichus, Psammitichus, and Psammietichus.

According to Justin, the Scythians believed themselves to be more ancient than the Ægyptians.

children

children extended their hands towards him, as if in ſupplication, and pronounced the word Becos [3]. It did not at firſt excite his attention, but on their repeating the ſame expreſſion whenever he appeared, he related the circumſtance to his maſter, and at his command brought the children to his preſence. When Pſammitichus had heard them repeat this ſame word, he endeavoured to diſcover among what people it was in uſe: he found it was the Phrygian name for bread [4]. From ſeriouſly revolving this incident, the Ægyptians were induced to allow the Phrygians to be of greater antiquity than themſelves.

III. That this was really done, I myſelf heard at Memphis from the prieſts of Vulcan. The Greeks, among other idle tales, relate, that Pſammitichus gave the children to be nurſed by women whoſe tongues were previouſly cut out. During my reſidence at Memphis, the ſame prieſts informed me of many other curious particulars: but to be better ſatisfied how well the narrative which I have given on their authority was ſupported, I made it my buſineſs to viſit Thebes and Heliopolis [5], the inhabitants of which latter place are deemed

[3] *Becos.*]—Theſe infants, in all probability, pronounced the word Bec, the cry of the animals which they imitated, *os* being a termination appropriate to the Greek language.—*Larcher.*

[4] *Bread.*]—Hipponax, ſpeaking of the people of Cyprus, uſes this word as ſignifying bread.—*Larcher.*

[5] *Heliopolis.*]—This place was not only celebrated for being in a manner the ſchool of Herodotus: Plato here ſtudied philoſophy, and Eudoxus aſtronomy.—*T.*

A bar-

deemed the moſt ingenious of all the Ægyptians. Except to ſpecify the names of their divinities, I ſhall be unwilling to mention their religious cuſtoms, unleſs my ſubject demand it; this being a matter concerning which men in general are equally well informed.

IV. In all which they related of human affairs, they were uniform and conſiſtent with each other: they agree that the Ægyptians firſt defined the meaſure of the year, which they divided into twelve parts; in this they affirm the ſtars to have been their guides. Their mode of computation is in my opinion more ſagacious than that of the Greeks, who for the ſake of adjuſting the ſeaſons accurately add every third year an intercalary month. The Ægyptians divide their year into twelve months, giving to each month thirty days: by adding five days to every year they have an uniform revolution of time. The people of this country firſt invented [6] the names of the twelve gods, and from them the Grecians borrowed them [7]. They were the firſt alſo who

A barbarous Perſian has overthrown her temples, a fanatic Arab burnt her books, and one ſolitary obeliſk overlooking her ruins, ſays to paſſengers, this once was Heliopolis.—*Savary*.

6 *Firſt invented*.—Larcher in a note vindicates the expreſſion of firſt invented, but this was already done to his hands by Bentley, in his preface to Diſſertation on Phalaris.—*T*.

7 *Grecians borrowed them.*]—At the ſame time that Plato confeſſes that the Grecian mythology was of foreign original, he derives Artemis from a Greek word ſignifying integrity; poſeidon, from *poſi, deſmen*, chains for the feet; Pallas, from *pallein*, to vibrate, &c.—*T*.

If

who erected altars, ſhrines, and temples; and none before them ever engraved the figures of animals on ſtone; the truth of all which they ſufficiently authenticate. The name of their firſt king was Menes [8], in whoſe reign the whole of Ægypt, except the province of Thebes, was one extended marſh. No part of all that diſtrict which is now ſituate beyond the lake Mœris, was then to be ſeen, the diſtance between which lake and the ſea is a journey of ſeven days.

V. The account which they give of their country appears juſt and reaſonable. It muſt be obvious to the inſpection of any one of common ſagacity, even though he knew it not before, that the part of Ægypt to which the Greeks now ſail formerly conſtituted a part of the bed of the river [9]; which thing may always be obſerved of all that tract of country beyond the lake, to paſs over which would

If the Ægyptian year had conſiſted of three hundred and ſixty-five entire days, the ſeaſons would be far from returning regularly at the ſame period. After ſome ages the winter months would be found to return in the ſpring, and ſo of the other ſeaſons.—*Larcher.*

[8] *Menes.*]—Diodorus Siculus agrees with Herodotus in making Menes reign in Ægypt, immediately after the gods and the heroes.—*Larcher.*

[9] *Bed of the river.*]—This ſentiment was adopted by all the ancients, and a great part of the moderns. If it be true, all the country from Memphis to the ſea muſt have been formerly a gulph of the Mediterranean, parallel to the Arabian gulph. The earth muſt have been raiſed up by little and little, from a depoſit of the mud which the waters of the Nile carry with them.—*Larcher.*

employ

employ a journey of three days, but this the Ægyptians themselves do not assert. Of this fact there exists another proof: if from a vessel bound to Ægypt, the lead be thrown at the distance of a day's sailing from the shore [10], it will come up at the depth

[10] *Day's sailing from the shore.*]—For seven or eight leagues from the land they know by the sounding plummet if they are near Ægypt, as within that distance it brings up the black slimy mud of the Nile, that settles at the bottom of the sea, which is often of great use in navigation, the low land of this country not being seen afar off.—*Pocock.*

I know not whether it has ever before been remarked, but it should seem, from the descriptions of modern travellers, that the approach to Alexandria in Ægypt greatly resembles the approach to Madras in the bay of Bengal.—*T.*

It appears from Norden, that the Nile forms every year new islands in its course, for the possession of which the petty princes inhabiting the banks of the river eagerly contend.—*T.*

The majority of travellers inform us, that upon an average the water usually rises every year to the height of twenty-two cubits. In 1702 it rose to twenty-three cubits four inches; in the year preceding it rose to twenty-two cubits eighteen inches: according to these travellers, the favourable height is from twenty-two to twenty-three cubits; according to Herodotus, from fifteen to sixteen.—The difference is seven.—*Larcher.*

No addition seems to have been made, during the space of five hundred years, to the number of cubits taken notice of by Herodotus. This we learn, not only from the sixteen children that attend the statue of the Nile, but from a medal also of Trajan, where we see the figure of the Nile, with a boy standing upon it, who points to the number sixteen. Fifteen cubits are recorded by the emperior Julian as the height of the Nile's inundation. Three hundred years afterwards the amount was no more than sixteen or seventeen; and at present, notwithstanding the great acoumulation of soil, when the river riseth to sixteen cubits the Ægyptians make great rejoicings, and call out, Wafaa Allah! God has given all they wanted.—*Pocock.*

Twenty-

depth of eleven fathoms covered with mud, plainly indicating that it was brought there by the water.

VI. According to our limitation of Ægypt, which is from the bay of Plinthene to lake Serbonis, near mount Casius, the whole extent of the coast is sixty schæni [11]. It may not be improper to remark, that they who have smaller portions of land, measure them by orgyiæ, they who have larger by stadia, such as have considerable tracts by parasanges. The schænus, which is an Ægyptian measure, used in the mensuration of more extensive do-

Twenty-four cubits is the greatest height to which the Nile was ever known to rise. When our countryman Sandys was there it rose to twenty-three.—*T.*

The following beautiful description of the time of the Nile's inundation is given by Lucan:

> Whene'er the Lion sheds his fires around,
> And Cancer burns Syene's parching ground,
> Then at the prayer of nations comes the Nile,
> And kindly tempers up the mouldering soil;
> Nor from the plains the covering god retreats,
> Till the rude fervour of the skies abates;
> Till Phœbus into milder autumn fades,
> And Meroa projects her length'ning shades:
> Nor let enquiring sceptics ask the cause—
> 'Tis Jove's command, and these are nature's laws.
>
> *Rowe.*

[11] *Sixty schæni.*]—The Greeks, whose territories were not extensive, measured them by stadia; the Persians, whose region was still greater, used parasanges. The Ægyptians, whose country was more spacious than Persia, properly so called, applied in their mensuration schæni. Herodotus, when he observes that this last is an Ægyptian measure, indirectly informs us that the stadium and parasangis was not there used.—*Larcher.*

mains

mains, is equivalent to ſixty ſtadia, as the paraſange is to thirty. Agreeably to ſuch mode of computation, the coaſt of Ægypt towards the ſea is in length three thouſand ſix hundred ſtadia.

VII. From hence inland to Heliopolis [12], the country of Ægypt is a ſpacious plain, which, though without water, and on a declivity, is a rich and ſlimy [13] ſoil. The diſtance betwixt Heliopolis and the ſea, is nearly the ſame as from the altar of the twelve deities [14], at Athens, to the ſhrine of Jupiter Olympus, at Piſa. Whoever will be at the trouble to aſcertain this point, will not find the difference to exceed fifteen ſtadia: the diſtance from Piſa to Athens wants preciſely fifteen ſtadia of one thouſand five hundred, which is the exact number of ſtadia betwixt Heliopolis and the ſea.

VIII. From Heliopolis to the higher parts of

[12] *Heliopolis.*]—Now called Matanea. It was probably the On of the ſcriptures, and, according to Strabo, celebrated for the worſhip of the ſun. There are but inconſiderable remains of this city.—*T.*

There were in Ægypt two cities of this name—*T.*

[13] *Rich and ſlimy.*]—The ſoil of Ægypt, except what it has received from the overflowings of the Nile, is naturally ſandy. It is full of nitre, or ſalt, which occaſions nitrous vapours, making the nights cold and dangerous. It is this and the rich quality of the earth, which is the ſediment of the water of the Nile, which makes Ægypt ſo fertile, that ſometimes they are obliged to temper the rich ſoil by bringing ſand to it.—*Pocock.*

[14] *Altar of the twelve deities.*]—This was in the Pythic place of Athens. Piſiſtratus, ſon of Hippias the tyrant, dedicated it to the twelve gods when he was archon.—*Larcher.*

Ægypt [15] the country becomes more narrow, and is confined on one part by a long chain of Arabian mountains, which, from the north, ſtretch ſouth and ſouth-weſt, in a regular inclination to the Red Sea. The pyramids of Memphis [16] were built with ſtones drawn from theſe mountains, which from hence have a winding direction towards the places we have before deſcribed. I have been informed, that to travel along this range of hills, from eaſt to weſt, which is the extreme length of the country, will employ a ſpace of two months: they add, that the eaſtern parts abound in aromatics. On that ſide of Ægypt which lies towards Lybia, there is another ſteep and ſandy mountain, in which certain pyramids have been erected: theſe extend themſelves, like thoſe Arabian hills which ſtretch towards the ſouth. Thus the country beyond Heliopolis differs exceedingly from the reſt of Ægypt,

15 *Ægypt.*]—Ægypt, in proportion as it recedes from the Mediterranean, is regularly elevated.—*Larcher.*

16 *Memphis.*]—If we give credit to ſome authors, the city of Memphis was ſituated in the place where at preſent ſtands the village of Gize; and I own that this opinion does not want probability. But if we attend to it carefully, we ſhall find it neceſſary to ſtrike off a great deal of the grandeur of that ancient capital of Ægypt, or elſe raiſe extremely all the plains about it. In effect, Gize does not occupy the half of the ſpace of Old Cairo; and the plains that extend all around never fail to be deluged at the time of the overflowing of the waters of the Nile. Is it credible that they ſhould have built a city ſo great and famous in a place ſubject to be under water the half of the year? ſtill leſs can it be imagined, that the ancient authors ſhould have forgotten ſo particular a circumſtance.—*Norden.*

The deſcription here given by Herodotus is confirmed by Norden, and by Savary.—*T.*

and

and may be paſſed in a journey of four days. The intermediate ſpace betwixt theſe mountains is an open plain, in its narroweſt part not more in extent than two hundred ſtadia, meaſuring from the Arabian to what is called the Lybian mountain, from whence Ægypt becomes again wider.

IX. From Heliopolis to Thebes [17] is a voyage of about nine days, or a ſpace of four thouſand eight hundred and ſixty ſtadia, equivalent to eighty-one ſchæni. I have before obſerved, that the length of the Ægyptian coaſt is three thouſand ſix hundred ſtadia; from the coaſt to Thebes is ſix thouſand one hundred and

[17] *Thebes.*]—According to Norden, ancient Thebes was probably in the place where Luxor and Carnac now ſtand. A better idea of the magnificence and extent of Thebes cannot perhaps be given, than by the following lines tranſlated from Homer:

> Not all proud Thebes' unrivall'd walls contain,
> The world's great empreſs on th' Ægyptian plain,
> That ſpreads her conqueſts o'er a thouſand ſtates,
> And pours her heroes through a hundred gates;
> Two hundred horſemen, and two hundred cars,
> From each wide portal iſſuing to the wars.—*Pope.*

Diodorus Siculus and Strabo both ſpeak in the moſt exalted terms of its opulence and power. "Never was there a city," obſerves the former of theſe writers, "which received ſo many offerings in ſilver, gold, ivory, coloſſal ſtatues, and obeliſks." There were in particular four temples greatly admired. Near this place ſtood the celebrated vocal ſtatue of Memnon. Its eaſtern part only was called Dioſpolis, according to Pocock. This writer, without citing his authority, remarks, that in the opinion of ſome writers, Thebes was the Sheba of the ſcriptures; and that the Greeks, having no way of writing this word, altered it to Thebai.—*T.*

twenty ſtadia; from Thebes to Elephantine [18] eight hundred and twenty.

X. The greater part of the country deſcribed above, as I was informed by the prieſts, (and my own obſervation induced me to be of the ſame opinion) has been a gradual acquiſition [19] to the inhabitants. The country above Memphis, between the hills before mentioned, ſeems formerly to have been an arm of the ſea, and is not unlike the region about Ilium, Teuthrania, Epheſus, and the plain of the Meander, if we may be allowed to compare ſmall things with great. It muſt certainly be allowed that none of the ſtreams which water the above country may in depth or in magnitude compare with any one of the five arms of the Nile. I could mention other rivers, which, though inferior to the Nile, have produced many wonderful effects; of theſe, the river Achelous [20] is by no means the leaſt conſiderable. This flows through Acarnania, and, loſing itſelf in the ſea which waſhes the

[18] *Elephantine*]—is now called Ell-Sag. In this place was a temple of Cnuphis, and a nilometer.—*T.*

When Herodotus ſpeaks of the length of Ægypt, he reckons from the Sebennitic mouth.—*Larcher.*

[19] *Acquiſition.*]—This remark of Herodotus is confirmed by Arrian and by Pliny.—*T.*

[20] *Achelous.*]—This river, from its violence and rapidity, was anciently called Thoas. Homer calls it the king of rivers. Its preſent name is Aſpro Potamo. Hercules, by checking the inundations of this river by mounds, was ſaid to have broken off one of his horns; whence the cornucopia.—*T.*

the Echinades[21], has connected one half of those islands with the continent.

XI. In Arabia, at no great distance from Ægypt, there is a long but narrow bay, diverging from the Red Sea, which I shall more minutely describe. Its extreme length, from the straits where it commences to where it communicates with the main, will employ a bark with oars a voyage of forty days, but its breadth in the widest parts may be sailed over in half a day. In this bay the tide daily ebbs and flows; and I conceive that Ægypt itself was a gulph formerly of similar appearance, and that, issuing from the Northern Ocean, it extended itself towards Æthiopia; in the same manner the Arabian one so described, rising in the south, flowed towards

The sea and the continent may be considered as two great empires, whose places are fixed, but which sometimes dispute the possession of some of the smaller adjacent countries. Sometimes the sea is compelled to contract its limits by the mud and the sands which the rivers force along with them; sometimes these limits are extended by the action of the waters of the ocean.—*Voyage du jeune Anacharsis.*

21 *Echinades.*]—These islands, according to the old Greek historians, are so close upon the coast of Elis, that many of them had been joined to it by means of the Achelous, which still continues to connect them with the continent, by the rubbish which that river deposits at its mouth, as I have had an opportunity of observing.—*Wood on Homer.*

The above note from Wood I have introduced principally with the view of refuting his gross mistake. Achelous is a river of Acarnania, and the Echinades close to that coast, and distant from Elis a considerable space. No descent of earth from Achelous could possibly join them to any thing but the main land; whereas Elis is in the Peloponnese.—*T.*

Syria;

Syria; and that the two were only ſeparated from each other by a ſmall neck of land. If the Nile ſhould by any means have an iſſue into the Arabian gulph, in the courſe of twenty thouſand years it might be totally choaked up with earth brought there by the paſſage of the river. I am of opinion, that this might take place even within ten thouſand years: why then might not a gulph ſtill greater than this be choaked up with mud in the ſpace of time which has paſſed before our age, by a ſtream ſo great and powerful as the Nile?

XII. All, therefore, that I heard from the natives concerning Ægypt, was confirmed by my own obſervations. I remarked alſo, that this country gains upon the region which it joins; that ſhells [22] are found

[22] *Shells.*]—It is very certain that ſhells are found upon the mountains of Ægypt, but this by no means proves the exiſtence of the Ægyptian gulph. Shells alſo are found upon mountains much higher than thoſe of Ægypt, in Europe, Aſia, and Ameca. This only proves that all thoſe regions have in part been covered by the waters of the ſea, ſome at one time and ſome at another. I ſay in part, becauſe it is certain, from the obſervation of the moſt ſkilful naturaliſts, that the higheſt mountains have not been covered with water. Theſe, in the times of ſuch general inundations, appeared like ſo many iſlands.—*Larcher.*

That the deluge was not univerſal, but to be underſtood as confined to the inhabitants of Paleſtine, was the opinion of many ancient writers, and in particular of Joſephus, ſee his ſecond book againſt Appion, where he ſpeaks of Beroſus. In confirmation of the above opinion of Joſephus, I have ſomewhere ſeen the following verſe from Geneſis adduced. "And the dove came in unto him in the evening, and lo, in her mouth was an olive leaf

found upon the mountains; and that an acrid matter[23] exudes from the soil, which has proved injurious even to the pyramids[24]; and that the only mountain

leaf pluckt off." This, it has been urged, could not possibly be a leaf of an olive-tree which, for so great a length of time had been immersed in water, and probably buried under mud and other substances. It is more reasonable to suppose, that it was gathered from some tree in the more elevated parts of Asia, to which the inundation of Noah had not extended. As to the circumstance of shells being frequently found on the summits of mountains, many naturalists are of opinion that this may have been produced by earthquakes, to which cause also the deluge has by some been ascribed. Our countryman, Woodward, considers this fact of shells being found on mountains, as an incontestible proof of a deluge; but this opinion is contradicted by Linnæus, in his System of Nature, who says, that no certain marks of a deluge are any where to be found; his words are, "Cataclysmi universalis certa rudera ego nondum attigi, quousque penetravi." In return, we have recently been informed by Sir William Jones, that in the oldest mythological books of Indostan there is a description of the deluge, nearly corresponding with that of the scriptures. Non nostrum est tantas componere lites.—*T.*

[23] *Acrid matter.*]—In every part of Ægypt, on digging, a brackish water is found, containing natrum, marine salt, and a little nitre. Even when the gardens are overflowed for the sake of watering them, the surface of the ground, after the evaporation and absorption of the water, appears glazed over with salt.—*Volney.*

[24] *Injurious to the pyramids.*]—Mr. Norden informs us, that the stones of the great pyramid on the north side are rotten; but he assigns for this phenomenon no cause.—*T.*

It appears from experiment, that the water of the Nile leaves a precipitation of nitre; and all travellers, of all ages, make mention of the nitrous quality of the atmosphere. To this cause Pocock and Savary agree in imputing those diseases of the eyes, so common and so fatal in Ægypt. Eight thousand blind people, according to this latter author, are decently maintained

mountain in Ægypt which produces ſand is the one ſituate above Memphis. Neither does Ægypt poſſeſs the ſmalleſt reſemblance to Arabia, on which it borders, nor to Lybia and Syria, for the ſea-coaſt of Arabia is poſſeſſed by Syrians. It has a black and crumbling ſoil, compoſed of ſuch ſubſtances as the river in its courſe brings down from Æthiopia. The ſoil of Africa we know to be red and ſandy; and the earth, both of Arabia and Syria, is ſtrong and mixed with clay.

XIII. The information of the prieſts confirmed the account which I have already given of this country. In the reign of Mœris, as ſoon as the river roſe to eight cubits, all the lands above Memphis were overflowed; ſince which a period of about nine hundred years has elapſed: but at preſent, unleſs the river riſes to ſixteen [25], or at leaſt fifteen cubits, its waters do not reach thoſe lands.

If the ground ſhould continue to elevate itſelf as it has hitherto done, by the river's receding from it, the Ægyptians below the lake Mœris, and thoſe who inhabit the Delta, will be reduced to the ſame perplexity which they themſelves affirm, menaces the Greeks. For as they underſtand that Greece is fertilized and refreſhed by rain, and not by rivers like their own, they predict that the inhabitants,

tained in the great moſque of Grand Cairo. It may ſeem a little remarkable, that of this quality and probable effect of the air, Herodotus ſhould make no mention.—*T.*

[25] *To ſixteen.*]—See remarks on chapter 5th.—*T.*

truſting to their uſual ſupplies, will probably ſuffer[26] the miſeries of famine; meaning, that as they have no reſource, and only ſuch water as the clouds ſupply, they muſt inevitably periſh if diſappointed of rain at the proper ſeaſons.

XIV. Such being the not unreaſonable prejudice of the Ægyptians with reſpect to Greece, let us enquire how they themſelves are circumſtanced. If, as I before remarked, the country below Memphis, which is that where the water has receded, ſhould progreſſively from the ſame cauſe continue to extend itſelf, the Ægyptians who inhabit it, might have ſtill juſter apprehenſions of ſuffering from famine. For in that caſe their lands, which are never fertilized by rain[27], could not receive benefit from

26 *Probably ſuffer.*]—It follows, therefore, that the Ægyptians had no knowledge of thoſe ſeven years of famine which afflicted their country during the adminiſtration of Joſeph. Theſe, however, were the more remarkable, as occaſioning an entire change in the conſtitution of the ſtate. The people at firſt gave their gold and their ſilver to the prince in exchange for corn; they afterwards reſigned to him their flocks and their herds, and ultimately became his ſlaves.—*Larcher.*

27 *By rain.*]—In Upper Ægypt they have ſometimes a little rain; and I was told that in eight years it had been known to rain but twice very hard for about half an hour.—*Pocock.*

Maillet quotes Pliny, as affirming there were no rains in Ægypt; he however affirms that he had ſeen it rain there ſeveral times. Pitts, an eye-witneſs, confirms Maillet's account of the rain of Ægypt, aſſuring us that when he was at Cairo it rained to that degree, that having no kennels in the ſtreets to carry off the water, it was ancle deep, and in ſome places half way up the leg.

from the overflowings of the river. The people who poſſeſs that diſtrict, of all mankind, and even of all the Ægyptians, enjoy the fruits of the earth with the ſmalleſt labour. They have no occaſion for the proceſs nor the inſtruments of agriculture uſual and neceſſary in other countries. As ſoon as the river has ſpread itſelf over their lands, and returned to its bed, each man ſcatters the ſeed over his ground, and waits patiently for the harveſt, without any other care than that of turning ſome ſwine [28] into the

leg. When the ſacred writer therefore ſays (Zech. xiv. 11) that Ægypt has no rain, he muſt be underſtood in a mollified ſenſe. *Obſervations on Paſſages of Scripture.*

It rains but ſeldom in Ægypt, the natural cauſe of which in the inland parts, is, I imagine, the dryneſs of the ſands, which do not afford a ſufficient moiſture for forming clouds, and deſcending in rains.—*Norden.*

Rain is more frequent at Alexandria and Roſetta, than at Cairo, and at Cairo than at Mineah, and is almoſt a prodigy at Djirdha.

When rain falls in Ægypt, there is a general joy amongſt the people. They aſſemble together in the ſtreets, they ſing, are all in motion, and ſhout, *Ya Allah, Ya Mobarek!*—Oh God, Oh Bleſſed.—*Volney.*

The earth burnt up with the violent fervour, never refreſhed with rain, which here falls rarely, and then only in the winter. —*Sandys.*

28 *Swine.*]—Plutarch, Eudoxus, and Pliny relate the ſame fact. Valcnaer does not heſitate to conſider it a fable invented by Herodotus; and the ſagacious Weſſeling ſeems to be of the ſame opinion, though he has not rejected the expreſſion. Gale, not thinking ſwine adapted to tread down the grain, has ſubſtituted oxen, becauſe in Heſychius and Phavorinus, the word *us* ſeems to ſignify an ox. They are at preſent made uſe of in ſome of our provinces, to find out trouffles, with a kind of muzzle

the fields to tread down the grain. These are at the proper season again let loose to shake the corn from the ear, which is then gathered.

XV. If we follow the tradition of the Ionians, it will appear that all which may be properly denominated Ægypt is limited to the Delta. This region, from the watch-tower erected by Perseus, extends along the coast to the salt-pits of Pelusium, to the length of forty schæni. From the coast inland it stretches to the city of Cercasora [29], where

zle to prevent their devouring them. My own opinion on this matter is, that Herodotus is mistaken only with regard to the time when they were admitted into the fields. It was probably before the corn was sown, that they might eat the roots of the aquatic plants, which might prove of injury to the grain.—*See Diodorus Siculus.*

It has been objected, that the Ægyptians considered swine as unclean animals, and that therefore probably they had not a sufficient number of them for the purposes here specified. To this I reply, that as they sacrificed them at the time of every full moon to the moon and to Bacchus, they had probably a great abundance of these animals.—*Larcher.*

I dare assert, by what I have seen, that there is scarce a country where the land has greater need of culture, than in Ægypt. I must own that in the Delta, which is more frequented and more cultivated, the mechanical contrivances are more plain and simple than what you will find higher up in the country.—*Norden.*

They spread out the corn when reaped, and an ox draws a machine about on it, which, together with the treading of the ox, separates the grain from the straw, and cuts the straw.—*Pocock.*

[29] *Cercasora.*]—Concerning the etymology of this place, consult Bryant, vol. i. 357.—*T.*

the

the Nile divides itſelf into two branches, one of which is termed Peluſium, the other Canopus. Of the reſt of Ægypt, they affirm that part of it belongs to Lybia, and part to Arabia, which if it be true we ſhall be obliged to conclude that formerly the Ægyptians had no country at all. The Delta, as they aſſert themſelves, and as I myſelf was convinced by obſervation, is ſtill liable to be overflowed, and was formerly covered with water [30]. Under theſe circumſtances, their curioſity to examine whether they were the moſt ancient of the human race [31] muſt ſeem prepoſterous, and their experiment of the two children to diſcover what language they ſhould firſt ſpeak, was abſurd and unneceſſary. For my own part I am of opinion, that the Ægyptians did not commence their origin with the Delta, but from the firſt exiſtence of the human race. That as their country became more extenſive, ſome remained in their primitive places of reſidence, whilſt others migrated to a lower ſituation. Hence it was that Thebes, comprizing a tract of land

[30] *Covered with water.*]—Diodorus Siculus is alſo of opinion that Egypt formerly was one extended ſea, and that the land was formed by the mud brought down from Æthiopia by the Nile.—*T.*

[31] *Ancient of the human race.*]—Diodorus Siculus informs us, that the Æthiopians conſider the Ægyptians as one of their colonies, at the head of which was Oſiris. He obſerves alſo in another place, that the inhabitants of the Thebaid conſider themſelves as the moſt ancient of mankind. This hiſtorian, doubtleſs, has a view to the traditions of the two people, without giving us his own opinion,—*Larcher.*

which

which is ſix thouſand one hundred and twenty ſtadia in circumference, went formerly under the name of Ægypt.

XVI. If our opinion concerning Ægypt be true, that of the Ionians muſt certainly be wrong; if on the contrary the Ionians are right in their conjecture, it will not be difficult to prove the Greeks, not excepting the Ionians, miſtaken in their account of the earth; of which they affirm that Europe, Aſia, and Lybia conſtitute the proper diviſion: but if the Delta belong neither to Aſia nor Africa, it makes by itſelf neceſſarily a fourth and diſtinct portion of the globe; for, according to the above mode of reaſoning, the Nile cannot completely form the diviſion between Aſia and Africa; at the extremity of the Delta it is ſeparated into two branches, and the country lying between, cannot properly belong either to Aſia or Africa.

XVII. Avoiding further comment upon the ſentiments of the Ionians, I myſelf am of opinion, that all the tract of country inhabited by Ægyptians is properly termed Ægypt, as the countries inhabited by the Cilicians and Aſſyrians are reſpectively denominated Cilicia and Aſſyria. And I muſt think that the land of Ægypt alone conſtitutes the natural and proper limits of Aſia and Africa. If we adhere to the opinion received amongſt the Greeks, we are to conſider the whole of Ægypt commencing from the cataract, and the city Elephantine as divided into two parts, with diſtinct appellations,

the

the one belonging to Lybia, the other to Asia; the Nile, beginning at the cataract, flows through the centre of Ægypt, and empties itself into the sea. As far as the city Cercasora it proceeds in one undivided channel, but it there separates itself into three branches [32]: that which directs itself towards the east

[32] *Three branches.*]—This river, whose source has not yet been explored, comes by one single channel from Æthiopia to the point of the Delta; arrived here it separates itself into three principal branches: of these one takes a direction towards the east, and is called the Pelusian channel; a second proceeds northward, and is called the Sebennitic branch; the third flows towards the west, and takes the name of the Canopic branch. The Sebennitic arm is divided into two others, the Saitic and the Mendesian: the Saitic is between the Bolbitine, which is an artificial branch, and the Sebennitic. The Bucolic also is the production of the inhabitants, and flows betwixt the Sebennitic, from which it proceeds, and the Mendesian. Thus the seven branches of the Nile, from east to west, are the Pelusian, the Mendesian, the Bucolic, the Sebennitic, the Saitic, the Bolbitine, and the Canopic.—Such is the account of Herodotus.—*Larcher.*

The different appearances which the Nile exhibits in its course is beautifully described by Lucan, and is thus not unskilfully translated by Rowe:

Who that beholds thee, Nile, thus gently flow,
With scarce a wrinkle on thy glassy brow,
Can guess thy rage when rocks resist thy force,
And hurl thee headlong in thy downward course;
When sporting cataracts thy torrent pour,
And nations tremble at the deaf'ning roar;
When thy proud waves with indignation rise,
And dash their foamy fury to the skies?

The Arabian account of the Nile and its different divisions, may be found in the Bibliotheque Orientale of Herbelot, which the

east is called the Pelusian mouth, the Canopic inclines to the west; the third in one continued line meets the point of the Delta, which dividing in two, it finally pours itself into the sea; this arm is equally celebrated, and not inferior in the depth of its waters, it is called the Sebennitic mouth, and this again divides itself into two branches; one is called the Saitic, and one the Mendesian channel; both empty themselves into the sea. There are two other mouths, the Bolbitinian and the Bucolic; these are not produced by nature, but by art.

XVIII. My opinion concerning the extent of Ægypt, receives farther confirmation from the oracle of Ammon, of which however I had no knowledge, till my mind was already satisfied on the subject. The people of Marea and Apis, who inhabit the borders of Libya, thinking themselves to be not Ægyptians but Libyans, both of them disliked the religious ceremonies of the country, and that particular restriction which did not permit them to kill heifers for food: they sent therefore with this impression to Ammon, declaring that they had no connection with the Ægyptians; for they lived beyond the Delta, had their opinions and prejudices as distinct as possible, and wished to have no restriction in the article of food. The deity signified his disapprobation of their conduct, and intimated that every part of that region which

the curious reader will do well to compare with the description given by Herodotus, and that of modern travellers, particularly of Pocock, Norden, Volney, and Savary.—*T.*

was watered by the Nile, was ſtrictly to be denominated Ægypt; and that all who dwelt below Elephantine, and drank of this ſtream [33], were Ægyptians.

XIX. In its more extenſive inundations, the Nile does not overflow the Delta only, but part of that territory which is called Libyan, and ſometimes the Arabian frontier, and extends about the ſpace of two days journey on each ſide, ſpeaking on an average. Of the nature of this river [34] I could obtain no certain information, from the prieſts or from others. It was nevertheleſs my particular deſire to know why the Nile, beginning at the ſummer ſolſtice [35], continues gradually to riſe for the

[33] *Drank of this ſtream.*]—The ancients, ſays Strabo, confined the appellation of Ægypt to the inhabited country watered by the Nile, from the environs of Syene to the ſea.

[34] *This river.*]—That the Nile was conſidered by the natives as a tutelar deity, appears from the following paſſages of Tibullus and of Statius.

Nile pater, quanam poſſum te dicere cauſa
Aut quibus in terris acculuiſſe caput?
Te propter, nullos tellus tua poſtulat imbres
Arida nec pluris ſupplicat herba Jovi,
Te canit atque ſuum pubes miratur Oſirin
Barbara, Memphitem plangere docta bovem.
Tibullus.

See alſo Statius, Theb. 4.
Tu nunc ventis pluvioque rogaris
Pro Jove. *T.*

[35] *Summer ſolſtice.*]—The inundation commences regularly about

the ſpace of an hundred days, after which for the ſame ſpace it as gradually recedes, remaining throughout the winter, and till the return of the ſummer ſolſtice, in its former low and quieſcent ſtate: but all my inquiries of the inhabitants proved ineffectual, and I was unable to learn why the Nile was thus diſtinguiſhed in its properties from other ſtreams. I was equally unſucceſsful in my wiſhes to be informed why this river alone, waſted no breeze from its ſurface.

XX. From a deſire of gaining a reputation for ſagacity, this ſubject has employed the attention of many among the Greeks. There have been three different modes [36] of explaining it, two of which merit no farther attention than barely to be mentioned; one of them affirms the increaſe of the Nile to be owing to the Eteſian winds, which by blowing in an oppoſite direction, impede the river's entrance to the ſea. But it has often happened that no winds have blown from this quarter, and the phænomenon of the Nile has ſtill been the ſame. It may alſo be remarked, that were this the real

about the month of July, or three weeks after the rains have begun to fall in Æthiopia.—*Larcher.*

The Nile is not the only river which increaſes its waters in the ſummer ſeaſon; it has this property in common with many others, both of Africa and India.—*Larcher.*

36 *Three different modes*]—Diodorus Siculus allows only two of theſe hypotheſes to be Grecian; the one by Thales, the other by Anaxagoras; the third, concerning the ocean, he makes of Ægyptian extraction amongſt the prieſts.—*Norden.*

cauſe,

cause, the same events would happen to other rivers, whose currents are opposed to the Etesian winds [37], which, indeed, as having a less body of waters, and a weaker current, would be capable of still less resistance: but there are many streams, both in Syria and Africa, none of which exhibit the same appearances with the Nile.

XXI. The second opinion [38] is still less agreeable to reason, though more calculated to excite

37 *Etesian winds.*]—Of these winds the following account is given by Pliny.—In the hottest part of the summer the dog-star rises; this is usually the fifteenth day preceding the calends of August, when the sun enters Leo. About eight days before this star rises, the north-east winds rise, which the Greeks call Prodromi (fore-runners): about two days afterwards these winds increase in force, and continue for the space of forty days; these are called the Etesian winds.—*T.*

The most satisfactory explanation of the inundation of the Nile is given by Pocock. "It must be supposed," he observes, "that the north winds are the cause of its overflow, which begin to blow about the latter end of May, and drive the clouds formed by the vapours of the Mediterranean southward, as far as the mountains of Æthiopia, which stopping their course, they condense and fall down in violent rains. It is said, that at this time not only men from their reason, but the wild beasts by a sort of instinct, leave the mountains. The wind, which is the cause of the rise of the Nile, driving the clouds against those hills, is also the cause of it in another respect, as it drives in the water from the sea, and keeps back the waters of the river, in such a manner as to raise the waters above." For further particulars on this curious subject, see Pocock.—*T.*

38 *The second opinion.*]—This second was the opinion of Euthymenes of Marseilles. According to Diodorus Siculus it was the prevailing sentiment of the Ægyptian priests.—*T.*

wonder,

wonder. This affirms, that the Nile has these qualities, as flowing from the Ocean, which entirely surrounds the earth.

XXII. The third opinion, though more plausible in appearance, is still more false in reality. It simply intimates, that the body of the Nile is formed from the dissolution of snow, which coming from Libya through the regions of Æthiopia, discharges itself upon Ægypt. But how can this river, descending from a very warm to a much colder climate, be possibly composed of melted snow? There are many other reasons concurring to satisfy any person of good understanding, that this opinion is contrary to fact. The first and the strongest argument may be drawn from the winds, which are in these regions invariably hot: it may also be observed, that rain and ice are here entirely unknown [39]. Now if in five days [40] after a fall of snow it must necessarily rain, which is indisputably the case, it follows, that if there were snow in those

39 *Rain and ice are here entirely unknown.*]—Nonnus reports, in the history of his embassy, that during the period when the Nile inundates Ægypt, there are very violent storms in the different parts of Æthiopia. The atmosphere is exceedingly cloudy, and the rains fall in such torrents as to inundate the country.

The Portuguese missionaries inform us, that from June to September there does not pass a day in Abyssinia without rain, and that the Nile receives all the rivers, streams, and torrents, which fall from the mountains.—*Larcher.*

40 *If in five days.*]—Herodotus had probably remarked, that at Halicarnassus or at Thurium, where he lived, snow was in the space of a few days succeeded by rain.—*Wesseling.*

countries,

countries, there would certainly be rain. The third proof is taken from the colour of the natives, who from exceſſive heat are univerſally black; moreover, the kites and the ſwallows are never known to migrate [41] from this country: the cranes alſo, flying from the ſeverity of a Scythian winter, paſs that cold ſeaſon here. If therefore it ſnowed although but little in thoſe places through which the Nile paſſes, or in thoſe where it takes its riſe, reaſon demonſtrates that none of the above-mentioned circumſtances could poſſibly happen.

XXIII. The argument which attributes to the ocean [42] theſe phænomena of the Nile, ſeems rather to partake of fable, than of truth or ſenſe. For my own part, I know no river of the name of Oceanus; and am inclined to believe that Homer, or ſome

[41] *Never known to migrate.*]—The kites and ſwallows of thoſe regions through which the Nile flows continue there throughout the year without injury: differing in this reſpect from thoſe of our climate, it may be reaſonably concluded that thoſe regions are of a warm temperature.—*Reiſke.*

[42] *Ocean.*]—Larcher refers to the circumſtance of Homer's mentioning the riſing and ſetting of the ſun in the ocean, as a proof of his excelling Herodotus in the ſcience of geography. Wood is of a very different opinion: "Upon further conſideration," ſays Mr. Wood, "I was induced to think that Homer's account of the ocean, upon which ſo much of his geographical ſcience is founded, will, if rightly underſtood, rather convince us of his ignorance on that head, and that the ocean in his time had a very different meaning from that which it now conveys; nor am I ſurprized that ſo much later Herodotus ſhould treat this idea of an ocean where the ſun riſes, as a poetical fiction. See Wood farther on this ſubject, p. 48, 50, &c.—*T.*

other poet of former times, firſt invented and afterwards introduced it in his compoſitions.

XXIV. But as I have mentioned the preceding opinions only to cenſure and confute them, I may be expected perhaps to give my own ſentiments on this intricate ſubject.—It is my opinion that the Nile overflows [43] in the ſummer ſeaſon, becauſe in the winter the ſun, driven by the ſtorms from his uſual courſe, aſcends into the higher regions of the air above Libya. My reaſon may be explained without difficulty; for it may be eaſily ſuppoſed, that to whatever region this power more nearly approaches, the rivers and ſtreams of that country will be proportionably dried up and diminiſhed.

XXV. If I were to go more at length into the argument, I ſhould ſay that the whole is occaſioned by the ſun's paſſage through the higher parts of Libya. For as the air is invariably ſerene, and the heat always tempered by cooling breezes, the ſun acts there as it does in the ſummer ſeaſon, when his place is in the centre of the heavens. The ſolar rays abſorb the aqueous particles, which their influence forcibly elevates into the

[43] *Nile overflows.*]—This explanation of the overflowing of the Nile in the ſummer, which ſeemed probable to Herodotus, is not only obſcure but abſurd, not to ſay falſe. This is ſufficiently proved by Ariſtides, in his oration on the cauſes of the increaſe of the Nile.—*Reiſke.*

This hypotheſis of Herodotus is compleatly refuted by Diodorus Siculus, Book ii. 19, 20, 24.—*T.*

higher

higher regions, here they are received, ſeparated, and diſperſed by the winds. And it may be obſerved, that the ſouth and ſouth-weſt, which are the moſt common winds in this quarter, are of all others moſt frequently attended with rain: it does not however appear to me, that the ſun remits all the water which he every year abſorbs from the Nile, ſome is probably withheld. As winter diſappears he returns to the middle place of the heavens, and again by evaporation draws to him the waters of the rivers, all of which are then found conſiderably encreaſed by the rains, and riſing to their extreme heights. But in ſummer, from the want of rain, and from the attractive power of the ſun, they are again reduced: but the Nile is differently circumſtanced, it never has the benefit of rains, whilſt it is conſtantly acted upon by the ſun; a ſufficient reaſon why it ſhould in the winter ſeaſon be proportionably lower than in ſummer. In winter the Nile alone [44] is diminiſhed by the influence of the ſun, which in ſummer attracts the water of the rivers indiſcriminately; I impute therefore to the ſun the remarkable properties of the Nile.

XXVI. To the ſame cauſe is to be aſcribed, as

[44] *Nile alone.*]—If the ſun attracted moiſture from the Nile during the winter ſeaſon, it would do the ſame with reſpect to the other rivers of Libya, and in like manner diminiſh the force of their currents. As this is not the fact, the reaſoning of this author falls to the ground. The rivers of Greece are increaſed during the winter, not on account of their diſtance from the ſun, but from the frequency of the rains.—*Diodorus Siculus.*

I suppose, the state of the air in that country, which from the effect of the sun is always extremely rarefied, so that in the higher parts of Africa there prevails an eternal summer. If it were possible to produce a change in the seasons, and to place the regions of the north in those of the south, and those of the south in the north, the sun, driven from his place by the storms of the north, would doubtless affect the higher parts of Europe, as it now does those of Libya. It would also, I imagine, then act upon the waters of the Ister, as it now does on those of the Nile.

XXVII. That no breeze [45] blows from the surface of the river, may I think be thus accounted for:—Where the air is in a very warm and rarefied state, wind can hardly be expected, this generally rising in places which are cold. Upon this subject I shall attempt no further illustration, but leave it in the state in which it has so long remained.

[45] *No breeze.*]—An immense body of water, from which no breeze is exhaled, naturally excites an idea of pestilence and putridity. The waters of the Nile, on the contrary, are not only wholesome but extremely delicious. Maillet informs us, that the Ægyptians are so fond of it, that they endeavour to procure an artificial thirst in order to drink the more of it. Of this acknowledged excellence of the waters of the Nile, Mr. Harmer avails himself to explain a passage in Exodus: "The Ægyptians shall loath to drink of the water of the river:"—that is, they shall loath to drink of that water of which they were formerly so fond. This may to some perhaps appear forced, but it is certainly ingenious.—*T.*

XXVIII. In all my intercourse with Ægyptians, Lybians, and Greeks, I have only met with one person who pretended to have any knowledge of the sources of the Nile [46]. This was the priest who had the care of the sacred treasures in the temple of Minerva, at Sais. He assured me, that on this subject he possessed the most unquestionable intelligence, though his assertions never obtained my serious confidence. He informed me, that betwixt Syene, a city of the Thebais, and Elephantine, there were two mountains, respectively terminating in an acute summit: the name of the one was Crophi, of the other Mophi. He affirmed, that the sources of the Nile, which were fountains of unfathomable depth, flowed from the centres of these mountains; that one of these streams divided Ægypt, and directed its course to the north; the other in like manner flowed towards the south, through Æthiopia. To confirm his assertion, that those springs were unfathomable, he told me, that Psammetichus, sovereign of the country, had ascertained it by experiment; he let down a rope of the length of several thousand orgyiæ, but could find no

[46] *Sources of the Nile.*]—Much as has been written on the subject of the sources of the Nile, it is still involved in obscurity and darkness. The world are taught to expect some illustrations on this head from the promised publication of Mr. Bruce, who penetrated into the interior parts of Abyssinia; and much may be reasonably hoped from the spirit and liberality which has induced some individuals amongst us to patronize an expedition to Africa, of which the investigation of the sources of the Nile is one avowed object.—*T.*

bottom. This was the prieſt's information, on the truth of which[47] I preſume not to determine. If ſuch an experiment was really made, there might perhaps in theſe ſprings be certain vortices, occaſioned by the reverberation of the water from the mountains, of force ſufficient to buoy up the ſounding-line, and prevent its reaching the bottom.

XXIX. Any other intelligence than the above I was not able to procure, though I ſo far carried my enquiry, that, with the view of making obſervation, I proceeded myſelf to Elephantine: of the parts which lie beyond that city I can only ſpeak from the information of others. Beyond Elephantine this country becomes rugged; in advancing up the ſtream it will be neceſſary to hale the veſſel on each ſide by a rope, ſuch as is uſed for oxen. If this ſhould give way, the impetuoſity of the ſtream forces the veſſel violently back again. To this place from Elephantine is a four days voyage; and here, like the Meander, the Nile becomes winding, and for the ſpace of twelve ſchæni there is no mode of proceeding but that above mentioned. Afterwards you come to a wide and ſpacious plain, and meet an iſland which ſtands in the centre of the river, and is called Tachompſo. The higher part

[47] *On the truth of which.*]—Herodotus could not have told us more explicitly that he diſbelieved the whole of this narrative. On this occaſion Strabo ſpeaks contemptuouſly of Herodotus, as a retailer of fables. But the geographer had not always ſo bad an opinion of him, for he frequently copies him without acknowledging it.—*Larcher.*

beyond Elephantine is poſſeſſed by the Æthiopians, who alſo inhabit half of this iſland, the other half belongs to Ægyptians. In the vicinity of the iſland is an extenſive lake, near which ſome Æthiopian ſhepherds reſide; paſſing over this, you again enter into a channel of the Nile, which flows into the above lake. Beyond this [43] it is neceſſary, for the ſpace of about forty days, to travel on the banks of the river, which is here ſo impeded with rocks, as to render the paſſage in a veſſel impoſſible. At the end of theſe forty days the traveller enters a ſecond veſſel, and after a voyage of twelve days will arrive at Meroe [49], a very conſiderable town, and as ſome ſay the capital of the reſt of Æthiopia. The inhabitants pay divine honours to Jupiter and Bacchus [50] only, but

43 *Beyond this, &c.*]—This paſſage is mentioned by Longinus in terms of admiration.—*T.*

The above is alſo imitated by Lucian, in his Eſſay on Writing True Hiſtory.—Having paſſed theſe iſlands, you will come to a great continent, &c.—*Larcher.*

49 *Meroe.*]—The jeſuit fathers, who reſided long in that country, were of opinion that the kingdom of Gojam in Abyſſinia was the ancient Meroe; this is diſputed by Ludolf, and poſitively denied by Voſſius. Father Lobo, in diſcuſſing this ſubject, enumerates the different opinions, and concludes with ſaying, that the ancients knew ſo very little of that part of Æthiopia, and have ſpoken ſo variouſly and ſo confuſedly about Meroe, that as much may be ſaid in favour of its being the modern kingdom of Gojam, as againſt it.—*T.*

50 *Jupiter and Bacchus*]—Strabo, in deſcribing the manners of the Æthiopians, makes no mention of either Jupiter or Bacchus. Every thing, therefore, muſt have been changed from the age of Herodotus to that of Strabo, or theſe two authors muſt have received very different impreſſions with reſpect to the two countries.—*Larcher.*

these they worship with the extremest veneration. At this place is an oracle of Jupiter, whose declarations, with the most implicit obedience, they permit to regulate all their martial expeditions.

XXX. Leaving this city at about the same distance as from hence to Elephantine, your bark will arrive at the country of the Automoli, who are also known by the name of Asmach. This word, translated into our language, signifies those who stand on the left-hand of the sovereign. This people, to the amount of two hundred and forty thousand individuals, were formerly Ægyptian warriors, and migrated to these parts of Æthiopia on the following occasion: In the reign of Psammetichus they were by his command stationed in different places; some were appointed for the defence of Elephantine against the Æthiopians, some at the Pelusian Daphne, others were detached to prevent the incursions of the Arabians and Assyrians; and to awe Lybia there was a garrison also at Marea: at this present period the military stations are regulated by the Persians, as they were under king Psammetichus; for there are Persian garrisons now stationed at Elephantine and Daphne. When these Ægyptians had remained for the space of three years in the above situation, without being relieved, they determined by general consent to revolt from Psammetichus [51] to the Æthiopians; on intelligence of which

[51] *Revolt from Psammetichus.*]—Diodorus Siculus assigns a very different reason for the revolt of these Ægyptians. "Psammetichus,"

which event they were immediately followed by Psammetichus, who, on his coming up with them, solemnly adjured them not to desert the gods of their country, their wives and their children. One of them is said indecently to have produced the mark of his sex, and to have replied, that wherever they carried that, they should doubtless obtain both wives and children. On their arrival in Æthiopia, the Automoli *[51] devoted themselves to the service of the monarch, who in recompence for their conduct assigned them a certain district of Æthiopia possessed by a people in rebellion against him, whom he ordered them to expel for that purpose. After the establishment of the Ægyptians among them, the tincture which they imbibed of Ægyptian manners had a very sensible effect in civilizing the Æthiopians.

XXXI. Thus, without computing that part of it which flows through Ægypt, the course of the Nile is known to the extent of four months journey, partly by land and partly by water; for it will be found on experience, that no one can go in a less time from Elephantine to the Automoli. It is certain that the Nile rises in the west, but beyond

"chus," says that historian, "having meditated an expedition against Syria, gave the place of honour in his army to strangers, and discovered on all occasions a preference to them, to the prejudice of his natural subjects." A predilection of a similar nature was the cause of those repeated and formidable revolts, which so essentially disturbed the repose of Charles the fifth, on his first accession to the Spanish throne.—*T.*

*[51] *Automoli.*]—Automoli is Greek, and means deserters.—*T.*

the Automoli all is uncertainty, this part of the country being, from the exceſſive heat, a rude and uncultivated deſert.

XXXII. It may not be improper to relate an account which I received from certain Cyrenæans: On an expedition which they made to the oracle of Ammon, they ſaid they had an opportunity of converſing with Etearchus, the ſovereign of the country: among other topics the Nile was mentioned, and it was obſerved, that the particulars of its ſource were hitherto entirely unknown; Etearchus informed them, that ſome Naſſamonians once viſited his court; (theſe are a people of Africa who inhabit the Syrtes, and a tract of land which from thence extends towards the eaſt) on his making enquiry of them concerning the deſerts of Africa, they related the following incident: ſome young men, who were ſons of perſons of diſtinction, had on their coming to man's eſtate ſignalized themſelves by ſome extravagance of conduct. Among other things, they deputed by lot five of their companions to explore the ſolitudes of Africa, and to endeavour at extending their diſcoveries beyond all preceding adventurers. All that part of Lybia towards the Northern Ocean, from Ægypt to the promontory of Soloeis, which terminates the third diviſion of the globe, is inhabited by the different nations of the Lybians, that diſtrict alone excepted in poſſeſſion of the Greeks and Phœnicians. The remoter parts of Lybia beyond the ſea-coaſt, and the people who inhabit its borders, are infeſted by various beaſts of prey; the

the country yet more diſtant is a parched and immeaſurable deſert. The young men left their companions, well provided with water and with food, and firſt proceeded through the region which was inhabited; they next came to that which was infeſted by wild beaſts, leaving which, they directed their courſe weſtward through the deſert. After a journey of many days, over a barren and ſandy ſoil, they at length diſcerned ſome trees growing in a plain; theſe they approached, and ſeeing fruit upon them, they gathered it. Whilſt they were thus employed, ſome men of dwarfiſh ſtature [52] came where they were, ſeized their perſons, and carried them away. They were mutually ignorant of each other's language, but the Naſſamonians were conducted over many marſhy grounds to a city, in which all the inhabitants were of the ſame

[52] *Dwarfiſh ſtature.*]—The pigmies are as old as Homer. They were not confined to Æthiopia, they were believed to exiſt alſo in India. Homer thus mentions them:

So when inclement winters vex the plain,
With piercing froſts, or thick deſcending rain,
To warmer ſeas the cranes embodied fly,
With noiſe and order through the midway ſky;
To pigmy nations wounds and death they bring,
And all the war deſcends upon the wing.—*Pope.*

Mention alſo is made of them by Pliny and Strabo. Pomponius Mela places them in a certain part of Arabia. P. Jovius ſays they are found in the extremities of the northern regions. The circumſtance of their hoſtilities with the cranes is mentioned by Oppian, in his firſt book of Halieutics; by Juvenal, ſat. 13; by Ovid, Faſt. book vi. Mr. Gibbon properly enough treats the whole as a contemptible fable.—*T.*

diminutive

diminutive appearance, and of a black colour. This city was washed by a great river, which flowed from west to east, and abounded in crocodiles.

XXXIII. Such was the conversation of Etearchus, as related to me; he added, as the Cyrenæans farther told me, that the Nassamonians returned to their own country, and reported the men whom they had met to be all of them magicians. The river which washed their city, according to the conjecture of Etearchus, which probability confirms, was the Nile. The Nile certainly rises in Lybia, which it divides; and if it be allowable to draw conclusions from things which are well known, concerning those which are uncertain and obscure, it takes a similar course with the Ister [53]. This river, commencing at the city of Pyrene [54], among the Celtæ, flows through the centre of Europe [55]. These

[53] *The Ister.*]—A description of this river cannot possibly be given better than in the words of Mr. Gibbon.—"The European provinces of Rome were protected by the course of the Rhine and the Danube. The latter of those mighty streams, which rises at the distance of only thirty miles from the former, flows above thirteen hundred miles, for the most part to the south-east, collects the tribute of sixty navigable rivers, and is at length, through six mouths, received into the Euxine, which appears scarcely equal to such an accession of waters."

[54] *Pyrene.*]—Many critics have supposed that Herodotus here intended to speak of the Pyrenean mountains; but this opinion cannot possibly be supported by any plausible reasoning.—*T.*

[55] *Centre of Europe.*]—This is not quite true. He means the same as when he observes, a little before, that the Nile divides Libya in the midst. But this mistake will not justify our following

These Celtæ are found beyond the Columns of Hercules [56]; they border on the Cynesians, the most remote of all the nations who inhabit the western parts of Europe. At that point which is possessed by the Istrians, a Milesian colony, the Ister empties itself into the Euxine.

XXXIV. The sources of the Ister, as it passes through countries well inhabited, are sufficiently notorious; but of the fountains of the Nile, washing as it does the rude and uninhabitable deserts of Lybia, no one can speak with precision. All the knowledge which I have been able to procure from the most diligent and extensive enquiries, I have before communicated. Through Ægypt it directs its course towards the sea. Opposite to Ægypt are the mountains of Cilicia, from whence to Sinope, on the Euxine, a good traveller may pass in five days: on the side immediately opposite to Sinope, the Ister is poured into the sea. Thus the Nile, as it traverses Africa, may properly enough be compared to the Ister. But on this subject I have said all that I think necessary.

lowing the example of Bouhier, who accuses Herodotus of confounding the Nile with the Niger.—*Larcher.*

[56] *Columns of Hercules.*]—Africa is divided from Spain by a narrow strait of about twelve miles, through which the Atlantic flows into the Mediterranean. The Columns of Hercules, so famous among the ancients, were two mountains which seemed to have been torn asunder by some convulsion of the elements; and at the foot of the European mountain Gibraltar is now situated.—*Gibbon.*

XXXV. Concerning Ægypt itſelf I ſhall ſpeak more at large; it claims our admiration beyond all other countries, and the wonderful things[57] which it exhibits demand a very copious deſcription.—The Ægyptians, born under a climate to which no other can be compared, poſſeſſing a river different in its nature and properties from all the rivers in the world, are themſelves diſtinguiſhed from the reſt of mankind by the ſingularity of their inſtitutions and their manners. In this country the women leave to the men[58] the management of the loom in the retirement

[57] *Wonderful things.*]—The Ægyptian nation might well abound in prodigies, when even their country and ſoil itſelf was a kind of prodigy in nature.—*Lord Shafteſbury.*

[58] *The women leave to the men, &c.*]—This cuſtom was contradictory to the manners of Greece.

The employments of the two ſexes prove, that in Ægypt the women had more authority than their huſbands, although Herodotus ſays nothing of the matter. But Diodorus Siculus is of this opinion; and he thinks that by this peculiarity they wiſhed to perpetuate the gratitude which they felt from the mild government of Iſis. "Thus," ſays he, "in Ægypt, the queens are more honoured than the kings, and the influence of the women is greater alſo in private life. In the contracts of marriage it is ſtipulated, that the woman ſhall be miſtreſs of her huſband, and that he ſhall obey her in every particular."—*Larcher.*

Nymphodorus (in the Scholia to the Œd. Col. of Sophocles) remarks, that Seſoſtris ſeeing Ægypt become exceedingly populous, and fearing leſt the inhabitants ſhould conſpire againſt him, obliged them to employ themſelves in feminine occupations, in order to enervate them.—*Larcher.*

The preſent aſpect of Ægypt exhibits a ſcene of very different manners. "Each family," ſays Savary, "forms a ſmall ſtate, of which the father is king, the members of it, attached to him by

retirement of the houſe, whilſt they themſelves are engaged abroad in the buſineſs of commerce [59]. Other nations in weaving ſhoot the woof above, the Ægyptians beneath: here the men carry burdens on their heads, women on their ſhoulders; women ſtand erect to make water, the men ſtoop. The offices of nature [60] are performed at home, but they eat their meals publickly in the ſtreets. In vindication of this they aſſert, that thoſe things which though neceſſary are unſeemly, are beſt done in private; but whatever has no ſhame attached to it, ſhould be done openly. The office of the prieſthood is in every inſtance confined to the men; there are no prieſteſſes in Ægypt, in the ſervice either of male or female deities; the men are under no obligation [61] to ſupport their parents, if unwilling to do ſo, but the women are.

XXXVI.

by the ties of blood, acknowledge and ſubmit to his power. When the maſter of the family dines, the women ſtand, and frequently hold the baſon for him to waſh, and ſerve him at table, and on all occaſions behave to him with the extremeſt humility and reverence. The women ſpend their time principally among their ſlaves, in works of embroidery, &c.—*T.*

59 *Buſineſs of commerce.*]—The ſame fact is mentioned in the Œdipus Coloneus of Sophocles, verſe 352. It occurs alſo in Pomponius Mela, which, however, is little more than a tranſlation of our author.—*T.*

60 *Offices of nature.*]—For this purpoſe the Greeks went out of doors.—*T.*

61 *Men are under no obligation.*]—In this barbarous cuſtom I can by no means diſcern the ſo much boaſted wiſdom of the Ægyptians. The law of Solon ſeems much more commendable: this permitted a young man to neglect the maintenance of his father,

XXXVI. The priests of the gods *[61], who in other places wear their hair long, in Ægypt wear it short. It

father, and to refuse him admission into his house, if he had been prostituted by his means. He was nevertheless obliged, after his death, to give him sepulture, with the usual funeral solemnities.

The law of which Herodotus speaks had probably this foundation—The priests and the military having duties to perform which did not suffer them to take care of their parents, these in their sons' absence would probably have experienced neglect. It is well known that the priests were also judges, and that they were dispatched to different places to administer justice, and that of consequence they must often have been absent from their families.—*Larcher.*

* [61] *The priests of the gods.*] — Amongst the singularities which distinguished the Jewish priesthood, there is one so striking, that I cannot forbear pointing it out to the attention of the reader. The Jewish high-priest was not allowed to marry except with a virgin. He was forbidden to marry either with "a widow, or a divorced woman, or profane, or an harlot." See Levit. xxi. 14. The discipline of the primitive christians was not in this instance much less rigorous: they were excluded from the priesthood who had either married two wives, or a widow, or whose wives had been guilty of adultery. If this last incident happened, they were either obliged to be divorced, or to renounce their profession.

It can by no means be impertinent to add, from Mosheim, that the christian doctors had the good fortune to persuade the people that the ministers of the christian church succeeded to the character, rights, and privileges of the Jewish priesthood, which persuasion was a new source of honour and of profit to the sacred order. Accordingly, the bishops considered themselves as invested with a rank and character similar to those of the high-priest among the Jews, while the presbyters represented the priests, and the deacons the Levites. The errors to which this notion gave rise were many, and one of its immediate consequences was the establishing a greater difference between

it is elsewhere customary[62], in cases of death, for those who are most nearly affected to cut off their hair in testimony of sorrow; but the Ægyptians, who at other times have their heads closely shorn, suffer the hair on this occasion to grow. Other nations will not suffer animals to approach the place of their repast; but in Ægypt they live promiscuously with the people. Wheat and barley is a common article of food in other countries; but it is in Ægypt thought mean and disgraceful, the diet here consists principally of spelt, a kind of corn which some call zea[63]. Their dough

tween the christian pastors and their flock, than the genius of the gospel seems to admit.—*T.*

62 *Elsewhere customary.*]—Amongst the Greeks when any sad calamity befalls them, the women cut their hair close, the men wear it long; in general the women wear their hair long, the men short.—*Plutarch.*

63 *Zea.*]—I suspect this to be a kind of bearded wheat. The *far*, *olyra*, *zea*, all mean a corn which we have not in cultivation, but which our writers call *spelt*.

What Martyn says upon this subject very much deserves attention. See his note upon Georg. i. 73. at the word *farra*. "*Far*," says he, "seems to be put here for corn in general." It seems to me pretty plain that it is the ζεια or ζεα of the Greeks, and what we call in English *spelt*. It is a sort of corn very like wheat, but the chaff adheres so strongly to the grain, that it requires a mill to separate them, like barley. Dionysius of Halicarnassus says expresly that the Greeks call that ζεια which the Latins call *far*. The principal objection to this seems to be, that Pliny treats of *zea* and *far* as two different sorts of grain; but we may reasonably suppose, that what Pliny says of *zea*, was taken from the Greek authors, and that they are the same grain, notwithstanding his having distinguished them. Besides this, in the 219th verse of this Georgic, Virgil has given the epithet *robusta* to

dough they knead with their feet; whilst in the removal of mud and dung they do not scruple to use their hands. Male children, except in those places which have borrowed the custom from hence, are left in other nations as nature formed them; in Ægypt they are circumcised [64]. The men have two vests, the

to *farra*, which is the very same that Theophrastus has given to *zea*, &c.

64 *Circumcised.*]—"I am aware," says Mr. Gibbon, "how tender is the question of circumcision." He affirms, however, that the Æthiopians have a physical reason for the circumcision of males and even of females, and that it was practised in Æthiopia long before the introduction of Judaism or Christianity.

Its commencement with the Jews was unquestionably with Abraham, and by the command of God. Marsham is of opinion, that the Hebrews borrowed it from the Ægyptians, and that God was not the first author of this custom. This latter is contrary to the testimony of Moses, the former position will admit of more debate. This practice, as is prevails amongst the Jews and Ægyptians, had a very different object: with the first it was a ceremony of religion; with the latter a point of decency or cleanliness, or as some say, of physical necessity. With the former it was performed on the eighth day from the birth of the child; with the latter not till the thirteenth year, and then on the girls as well as boys.

There is a kind of circumcision practised in Otaheite, which consists of slitting the prepuce through the upper part, see Hawkesworth's Voyages.

From the pain attending the operation, when performed at an advanced age, Mr. Harmer takes occasion to explain a passage in the Old Testament, concerning which commentators have materially differed.—*See Observations on Passages of Scripture*, vol. ii. p. 500.

After a generation's intermission, the Jews returned to circumcision under Joshua. See Joshua, v. 2. "And the Lord said

the women only one. In oppoſition to the cuſtoms of other nations, the Ægyptians fix the ropes to their ſails on the inſide. The Greeks, when they write or reckon with counters, go from the left to the right, the Ægyptians from right to left; notwithſtanding which they perſiſt in affirming that the Greeks write to the left, but they themſelves always to the right. They have two ſorts of letters [65], one of which is appropriated to ſacred ſubjects, the other uſed on common occaſions.

XXXVII. Their veneration of their deities is ſuperſtitious to an extreme: of their cuſtoms one is

ſaid unto Joſhua, Make thee ſharp knives, and circumciſe again the children of Iſrael the ſecond time."

The curious reader may alſo conſult Exodus, chap. iv. to ſee what paſſed betwixt Moſes and his wife Zipporah, on the ſubject of circumciſing their ſon. Upon this laſt the author of the Characteriſtics remarks, that Zipporah, from reproaching Moſes with the bloodineſs of the deed, ſeems to have been a party only through neceſſity, and in fear rather of her huſband, than of God.

Upon this ſubject ſee alſo Spencer de Legibus Hebræorum. The above obſervations are compiled from the different writers on this curious topic. It may not be improper to add, that circumciſion is ſometimes uſed medicinally.—*T.*

65 *Two ſorts of letters.*]—Diodorus Siculus agrees in this reſpect with Herodotus. Clemens Alexandrinus and Porphyry remark, that the Ægyptians uſed three ſorts of letters: the firſt is called epiſtolary, the ſecond the ſacerdotal, the third the hieroglyphic. Warburton, in his Divine Legation of Moſes, attributes to the Ægyptians four ſorts of letters. Although I am ignorant of the time when the Ægyptians firſt began to have an alphabet, I am ſatisfied it muſt have been long before the invaſion of Cambyſes.—*Larcher.*

to drink out of brazen goblets, which it is an universal practice among them to cleanse every day. They are so regardful of neatness, that they wear only linen [66], and that always newly washed; and it is from the idea of cleanliness, which they regard much beyond comeliness, that they use circumcision. Their priests [67] every third day shave every part of their bodies, to prevent vermin [68] or any species of impurity from adhering to those who are engaged in the service of the gods: the priesthood is also confined to one particular mode of dress; they have one vest of linen, and their shoes are made of the byblus; they wash themselves in cold water twice in the course of the day, and as often in the night;

66 *Only linen.*]—So much was said by the ancients upon the linen of Ægypt, that many have been induced to suppose it remarkably fine, but it was certainly very coarse. The Greeks had no flax, and were not skilled in the art of weaving, which circumstances excuse the praise they have bestowed on the Ægyptian linen. It appears from the Philosophical Transactions of 1764, that Dr. Halley, after a minute examination of an Ægyptian mummy, found the upper filleting hardly equal in fineness to what is sold in the shops for two and four-pence a yard; the inner filleting was coarser.—*T.*

67 *Their priests.*]—For a more particular account of the peculiarities observed by the Ægyptian priests, see Porphyrius de Abstinentiâ, lib. iii.; from whom it appears, that their whole time was divided betwixt study and acts of devotion. It may not be improper to advertise the English reader, that the institutions of Pythagoras appear to have been almost wholly founded upon the manners and customs of these priests.—*T.*

68 *To prevent vermin.*]—In this respect the Jews were in like manner tenacious: if a Jewish priest found any dirt or dead vermin betwixt his inner garments and his skin, he might not perform the duties of his office. *See Maimonides.*—*T.*

Beans are ſown in no part of Ægypt, neither will the inhabitants eat them, either boiled or raw; the prieſts will not even look at this pulſe, eſteeming it exceedingly unclean. Every god has ſeveral attendant prieſts, and one of ſuperior dignity, who preſides over the reſt; when any one dies he is ſucceeded by his ſon [72].

XXXVIII. They eſteem bulls as ſacred to Epaphus [73], which previouſly to ſacrifice are thus carefully examined: if they can but diſcover a ſingle black hair in his body, he is deemed impure; for this purpoſe a prieſt is particularly appointed, who examines the animal as it ſtands, and as reclined on its back: its tongue is alſo drawn out, and he obſerves whether it be free from thoſe blemiſhes [74] which

[72] *Succeeded by his ſon.*]—Amongſt the Ægyptians the prieſts compoſed a diſtinct claſs, as the Levites amongſt the Jews, and the Brachmans with the Indians.—*Larcher.*

[73] *Bulls as ſacred to Epaphus.*]—It was doubtleſs from the circumſtance of this idolatry that Aaron erected the golden calf in the wilderneſs, and Jeroboam in Dan and Bethel.—*T.*

Ægyptiâ ſuperſtitione inquinatos Iſraelitas vitulum aureum coluiſſe certum eſt.—*Selden de Diis Syris.*

It is in this place not unworthy of remark, that Herodotus uſes the word μοσχος, which may be interpreted *vitulus.* See alſo Virgil:

> Ego hanc vitulam ne forte recuſes
> Bis venit at mulctram, binos alit ubere fœtus
> Depono.

[74] *Free from thoſe blemiſhes.*]—See Numbers, chap. xix. ver. 2. "Speak unto the children of Iſrael, that they bring thee a red heifer without ſpot, wherein is no blemiſh, and upon which never came yoke."

are

night; it would indeed be difficult to enumerate their religious ceremonies, all of which they practise with superstitious exactness. The sacred ministers possess in return many and great advantages [69]; they are not obliged to consume any part of their domestic property; each has a moiety of the sacred viands ready dressed assigned him, besides a large and daily allowance of beef and of geese; they have also wine [70], but are not permitted to feed on fish [71].

69 *Possess many and great advantages.*]—They enjoyed one great advantage, of which Herodotus takes no notice: Ælian positively affirms, that they were the judges of the nation; Larcher, from whom the above remark is taken, proceeds to a minute comparison betwixt the customs of the priests of Ægypt and those of the Jews.

See also Genesis, chap. xlvii. ver. 22; from which it appears that the priests of Ægypt had no share in the miseries of the famine. "Only the land of the priests bought he not, for the priests had a portion assigned them of Pharaoh, &c."

70 *They have also wine.*]—This assertion of Herodotus is contradicted by other writers; but, as Montfaucon observes, the customs of the priests might vary according to times and places. —*T.*

71 *Not permitted to feed on fish.*]—The reason of this, according to Plutarch, was their excessive enmity to the sea, which they condered as an element inimical to man: the same reasoning they extended to the produce of the Nile, which they thought corrupted by its connection with the sea.—*T.*

Various motives are assigned, why the Pythagoreans, in imitation of the Ægyptians, abstained from beans, by Plutarch, Cicero, and others. "The Pythagoreans," observes Cicero, "abstained from beans, as if that kind of food inflated the mind rather than the belly; but there is nothing so absurd which has not been affirmed by some one of the philosophers."—*T.*

are ſpecified in their ſacred books, and of which I ſhall ſpeak hereafter. The tail alſo undergoes examination, every hair of which muſt grow in its natural and proper form: if in all theſe inſtances the bull appears to be unblemiſhed, the prieſt faſtens the byblus round his horns; he then applies a preparation of earth, which receives the impreſſion of his ſeal, and the animal is then led away; this ſeal is of ſo great importance, that to ſacrifice a beaſt which has it not, is deemed a capital offence.

XXXIX. I proceed to deſcribe their mode of ſacrifice:—Having led the animal deſtined and marked for the purpoſe to the altar, they kindle a fire; a libation of wine is poured upon the altar; the god is ſolemnly invoked, and the victim then is killed; they afterwards cut off his head, and take the ſkin from the carcaſe; upon the head they heap many imprecations: ſuch as have a market-place at hand carry it there, and ſell it to the Grecian traders; if they have not this opportunity, they throw it into the river. They imprecate the head, by wiſhing that whatever evil menaces thoſe who ſacrifice, or Ægypt in general, it may fall upon that head[75]. This ceremony reſpecting the head of the animal, and this mode of pouring a libation of wine upon the altar, is indiſcriminately obſerved by

[75] *Fall upon that head.*]—See Leviticus, chap. xvi. ver. 21. "And Aaron ſhall lay both his hands upon the head of the live goat, and confeſs over him all the iniquities of the children of Iſrael, and all their tranſgreſſions, putting them upon the head of the goat."

all the Ægyptians: in confequence of the above, no Ægyptian will on any account eat of the head of a beaft. As to the examination of the victims, and their ceremony of burning them, they have different methods, as their different occafions of facrifice require.

XL. Of that goddefs whom they efteem the firft of all their deities, and in whofe honour their greateft feftival is celebrated, I fhall now make more particular mention. After the previous ceremony of prayers, they facrifice an ox; they then ftrip off the fkin, and take out the inteftines, leaving the fat and the paunch; they afterwards cut off the legs, the fhoulders, the neck, and the extremities of the loin; the reft of the body is ftuffed with fine bread, honey, raifins, figs, frankincenfe, myrrh, and various aromatics; after this procefs they burn it, pouring upon the flame a large quantity of oil: whilft the victim is burning the fpectators flagellate themfelves [76], having before the ceremony fafted;

[76] *Flagellate themfelves.*]—Athenagoras, in his Legat. pro Chrif. ridicules this cuftom of the Ægyptians; Larcher quotes the paffage, and adds, that it is fomewhat fingular that fuch a ceremony fhould feem ridiculous to a chriftian. Flagellation, however inflicted, or voluntarily fubmitted to as a penance, was fubfequent to the time of Athenagoras.

It is a maxim, fays Mr. Gibbon, of the civil law, that he who cannot pay with his purfe muft pay with his body. The practice of flagellation was adopted by the monks, as a cheap though painful equivalent.

The thirteenth century, according to Mofheim, gave birth to the fect of the Flagellants.—*T.*

the

the whole is completed by their feasting on the residue of the sacrifice.

XLI. All the Ægyptians sacrifice bulls without blemish, and calves, the females are sacred to Isis, and may not be used for this purpose. This divinity is represented under the form of a woman, and as the Greek paint Io, with horns upon her head; for this reason the Ægyptians venerate cows far beyond all other cattle, neither will any man or woman among them kiss a Grecian, nor use a knife, or spit on any domestic utensil belonging to a Greek [77], nor will they eat even the flesh of such beasts as by their law are pure, if it has been cut with a Grecian knife. If any of these cattle die, they thus dispose of their carcases, the females are thrown into the river, the males they bury in the vicinity of the city, and by way of mark one and sometimes both of the horns are left projecting from the ground: they remain thus a stated time, and till they begin to putrefy, when a vessel appointed for this particular purpose is dispatched from Prosopitis, an island of the Delta, nine schæni in extent, and containing several cities. Atarbechis [78], one

[77] *Belonging to a Greek.*]—That the Ægyptians would not eat with strangers, appears from the following passage in Genesis, chap. xliii. ver. 32. "And they set on for him by himself, and for them by themselves, and for the Ægyptians which did eat with him by themselves, because the Ægyptians might not eat bread with the Hebrews, for that is an abomination to the Ægyptians."

[78] *Atarbechis.*]—Atarbec in Ægypt is the temple of Atar or Athar,

one of these cities, in which is a temple of Venus, provides the vessels for this purpose, which are sent to the different parts of Ægypt: these collect and transport the bones of the animals, which are all buried in one appointed place. This law and custom extends to whatever cattle may happen to die, as the Ægyptian themselves put none to death.

XLII. Those who worship in the temple of the Theban Jupiter, or belong to the district of Thebes, abstain from sheep, and sacrifice goats. The same deities receive in Ægypt different forms of worship; the ceremonies of Isis and of Osiris, who they say is no other than the Grecian Bacchus [79], are alone unvaried; in the temple of Mendes, and in the whole Mendesian district, goats are preserved and sheep sacrificed. Why the Thebans, and all who are under their influence, abstain from sheep, is thus explained: Jupiter, they say, was long averse to the

Athar, called Atarbechis by Herodotus: the same is Athyr-bet, and styled Athribites by Strabo.—*Bryant.*

Atar signifies Venus, and Bec a city, as Balbec the city of the sun, called by the Greeks Heliopolis.

Whoever wishes to be minutely informed concerning the various names and attributes of Venus, the different places where she was worshipped, and indeed every thing which antiquity has handed down concerning this goddess, will do well to consult the Memoire sur Venus, by Larcher, to which the prize of the French Academy was assigned in 1775.—*T.*

79 *The Grecian Bacchus.*]—The Ægyptians maintain, that their god Osiris is no other than the Dionusus of Greece. In like manner the Indi assure us, that it is the same deity who is conversant in their country.—*Diodorus Sic.* l. iv. 210.

earnest

earneft folicitations of Hercules to fee his perfon; but in confequence of his repeated importunity the god, in compliance, ufed the following artifice: he cut off the head of a ram, and covering himfelf with its fkin, fhewed himfelf in that form to Hercules; from this incident, the Ægyptian ftatues of Jupiter reprefent that divinity with the head of a ram. This cuftom was borrowed of the Ægyptians by the Ammonians, who are compofed partly of Ægyptians and partly of Æthiopians, and whofe dialect is formed promifcuoufly of both thofe languages. The Ægyptians call Jupiter, Ammoun [80], and I fhould think this was the reafon why the above people named themfelves Ammonians. From this however it is, that the Thebans efteem the ram as facred, and, except on the annual feftival of Jupiter, never put one to death. Upon this folemnity they kill a ram, and placing its fkin on the

80 *Call Jupiter, Ammoun.*]—Plutarch fays, that of all the Ægyptian names which feemed to have any correfpondence with the Zeus of Greece, Amoun or Ammon was the moft peculiar and adequate: he fpeaks of many people who were of this opinion.—*Bryant.*

The following line occurs in the Scholiaft to Pindar, Pyth. Ode 4th, v. 28.

Ζευς Λιβυης Αμμων κερατηφορε κεκλυτε μαντι.

Jupiter was almoft as much in fafhion amongft the old worfhippers of images, as the Virgin amongft the modern: he had temples and different characters almoft every where. At Carthage he was called Ammon; in Ægypt, Serapis; at Athens, the great Jupiter was the Olympian Jupiter; and at Rome, the greateft Jupiter was the Capitoline.—*Spence, Polymetis.*—*T.*

 image

image of the god, they introduce before it a figure of Hercules; the aſſembly afterwards beat the ram, and conclude the ceremony by encloſing the body in a ſacred cheſt.

XLIII. This Hercules, as I have been informed, is one of the twelve great gods, but of the Grecian Hercules I could in no part of Ægypt procure any knowledge; that this name was never borrowed by Ægypt from Greece, but certainly communicated by the Ægyptians to the Greeks, and to thoſe in particular who aſſign it to the ſon of Amphitryon, is among other arguments ſufficiently evident from this, that both the reputed parents of this Hercules, Amphitryon and Alcmena, were of Ægyptian origin. The Ægyptians alſo diſclaim all knowledge both of Neptune and the Dioſcuri, neither of whom are admitted among the number of their gods: if they had ever borrowed the name of a deity from Greece, the remembrance of theſe, ſo far from being leſs, muſt have been ſtronger than of any other; for if they then made voyages, and as I have great reaſon to believe, there were at that time Greek ſailors, they would rather have been acquainted with the names of the other deities, than with that of Hercules. Hercules is certainly one of the moſt ancient deities of Ægypt [81]; and as they themſelves affirm,

[81] *Deities of Ægypt.*]—The remark, that the Ægyptian is a very diſtinct perſonage from the Grecian Hercules, is not peculiar to Herodotus; it is affirmed by all the authors who have had

affirm, is one of the twelve, who were produced from the eight gods, seventeen thousand years before the reign of Amasis.

XLIV. From my great desire to obtain information on this subject, I made a voyage to Tyre, in Phœnicia, where is a temple of Hercules held in great veneration. Among the various offerings which enriched and adorned it, I saw two pillars; the one was of the purest gold, the other of emerald [82], which in the night diffused an extraordinary splendour. I enquired of the priests how long this temple had been erected, but I found that they also differed in their relation from the Greeks. This temple, as they affirmed, had been standing ever since the first building of the city, a period of

had occasion to speak on the subject; Cicero gives him the Nile as his father: Nilo genitus.—*Larcher.*

According to Cicero, the Ægyptian Hercules was not the most ancient: he calls him the second Hercules. The Hercules, son of Amphitryon and Alcmena, was the sixth: this last, however, was the one most known, who is represented in almost all our ancient monuments, and who was worshipped by the Greeks and Romans.—*T.*

[82] *Of emerald.*]—This pillar, of which Herodotus here speaks, could not, says Mr. Larcher, have been a true emerald, it was probably a pseudosmaragdus. The learned Frenchman agrees in opinion with the authors of the Universal History, that it was of coloured glass, illuminated by lamps placed within.

Whether at so early a period they had knowledge of glass, may be disputed; but it is well known, that before the discovery of glass, or the application of it for windows, the rich used transparent stones for this purpose, which will solve the difficulty quite as well.—*T.*

two

two thousand three hundred years. I saw also at Tyre another temple consecrated to the Thasian Hercules. At Thasus, which I visited, I found a temple erected to this deity by the Phœnicians, who built Thasus while they were engaged in search of Europa: an event which happened five generations before Hercules, the son of Amphitryon, was known in Greece. From all these circumstances I was convinced that Hercules must be a very ancient deity. Such therefore of the Greeks as have erected two temples to the deity of this name, have, in my opinion, acted very wisely: to the Olympian Hercules they offer as to an immortal being; to the other they pay the rites of an hero.

XLV. Among the many preposterous fables current in Greece, the one concerning Hercules is not the least ridiculous. He arrived, they say, in Ægypt, where the inhabitants bound him with the sacred fillet, and the usual ornaments of a victim [83], and made preparations to sacrifice him to Jupiter.

[83] *Of a victim.*]—The gradations by which mankind was led from offering the produce of the earth to the gods to sacrifice animals, are related by Porphyry, in his second book, de Abstinentiâ. He relates the following story on this subject: "So abhorrent," says he, "were the antient Athenians from the destroying of any kind of animals, that a woman, named Clymene, was deemed guilty of a very criminal act, from her having without design killed a hog. Her husband, from the supposition that she had committed an impiety, went to consult the oracle on the occasion. But as the deity did not consider it in a very heinous light, men were afterwards induced to make light of it also." *See Porphyr.* lib. ii. chap. 9.—*T.*

For

For a while he reftrained himfelf, but upon his being conducted with the ufual folemnities to the altar, he exerted his ftrength, and put all his opponents to death. This ftory of the Greeks demonftrates the extremeft ignorance of the Ægyptian manners; for how can it be reafonable to fuppofe, that they will offer human beings in facrifice, who will not for this purpofe deftroy even animals, except fwine, bulls, male calves without blemifh, and geefe? Or how could Hercules, an individual, and as they themfelves affirm a mortal, be able to deftroy many thoufands of men?—I hope, however, that what I have introduced on this fubject will give no offence either to gods or heroes.

XLVI. The Mendefians, of whom I have before fpoken, refufe to facrifice goats of either fex, out of reverence to Pan, whom their traditions affert to be one of the eight deities, whofe exiftence preceded that of the twelve. Like the Greeks, they always reprefent Pan in his images with the countenance of the fhe-goat [84] and legs of the male; not that they believe this has any refemblance to his perfon, or that he in any refpect differs from the

[84] *Countenance of the fhe-goat,* &c.]—Montfaucon obferves, that what Herodotus fays in this place of the Ægyptian manner of reprefenting Pan, does not agree with the ftatues and images of Pan which have come down to us. Both the Greeks and Romans, if we may credit their monuments, which are very numerous, pictured Pan with a man's face, and with the horns, ears, and feet of a fhe or he-goat.—*T.*

reft

rest of the deities: the real motive which they assign for this custom I do not choose to relate. The veneration of the Mendesians for these animals, and for the males in particular [85], is equally great and universal: this is also extended to goat-herds. There is one he-goat more particularly honoured than the rest, whose death is seriously lamented by the whole district of the Mendesians. In the Ægyptian language the word Mendes is used in common for Pan and for a goat. It happened in this country, within my remembrance, and was indeed universally notorious, that a goat had indecent and public communication with a woman.

XLVII. The Ægyptians regard the hog as an unclean animal [86], and if they casually touch one they

85 *Males in particular.*]—The Ægyptians venerated the he-goat as a deity, for the same reason that the Greeks do Priapus. This animal has a strong propensity to venery, and the member which is the instrument of generation they esteem honourable, because from it, animals derive their existence.—*Diodorus Sic.* lib. i. 98.

86 *Unclean animal.*]—The abhorrence of the Jews to the flesh of swine is generally supposed to have been imitated from the Ægyptians; they differed in this, the Jews would never eat it, the Ægyptians occasionally did. The motives assigned by Plutarch for the prejudice of both these nations in this particular instance is curious enough: "The milk of the sow," says he, "occasioned leprosies, which was the reason why the Ægyptians entertained so great an aversion for this animal."

The same author in another place explains in this manner the dislike of the Jews to swine. The religion, the ceremonies, and feasts of the Jews, were, as he pretends, the same as those practised in Greece with respect to Bacchus. Bacchus and Adonis

they immediately plunge themſelves, clothes and all, into the water. This prejudice operates to the excluſion of all ſwine-herds, although natives of Ægypt, from the temples: with people of this deſcription a connection by marriage is ſtudiouſly avoided, and they are reduced to the neceſſity of intermarrying among thoſe of their own profeſſion. The only deities to whom the Ægyptians offer ſwine, are Bacchus and Luna; to theſe they ſacrifice ſwine when the moon is at the full, after which they eat the fleſh. Why they offer ſwine at this particular time, and at no other, the Ægyptians have a tradition among themſelves, which delicacy forbids me to explain. The following is the mode in which they ſacrifice this animal to Luna: as ſoon as it is killed they cut off the extremity of the tail, which, with the ſpleen and the fat, they incloſe in the cawl, and burn; upon the remainder, which at any other time they would diſdain, they feaſt at the full moon, when the ſacrifice is performed. They who are poor make the figures of ſwine with meal, which having firſt baked, they offer on the altar.

XLVIII. On the day of the feaſt of Bacchus, at the hour of ſupper, every perſon, before the door

nis are the ſame divinities; and the Jews abſtain from ſwine's fleſh, becauſe Adonis was ſlain by a boar.

It is no leſs worth remarking, that Plutarch explains the derivation of Levites from Lyſios, Λυσιος, a name of Bacchus.—*T.*

of his houſe, offers a hog in ſacrifice. The ſwine-herd of whom they purchaſed it, is afterwards at liberty to take it away. Except this ſacrifice of the ſwine, the Ægyptians celebrate the feaſt of Bacchus in the ſame manner as the Greeks. Inſtead of the phalli [87], they have contrived certain figures of about a cubit in length; the private members of which are made to move. Theſe the women carry about the ſtreets and villages, and the member which diſtinguiſhes the ſex, being almoſt as large as the reſt of the body, with theſe, and preceded by a piper, they ſing in a long proceſſion the praiſes of Bacchus. Why this member is ſo diſproportionably large, and why they give a motion to it alone, they aſſign a ſacred and myſterious reaſon.

XLIX. I am of opinion, that Melampus [88], ſon of

[87] *Phalli.*]—Macrobius explains the conſecration of the phallus into an emblem of the power of generation, whoſe prolific virtue is thereby invoked to impregnate the univerſe; for which reaſon that ceremony is for the moſt part performed in the ſpring, when the whole world receives a kind of regeneration from the gods. Macrobius, Saturnal. lib. i. 7.—See alſo on this ſubject Lucian de Dea Syria; Apuleius; Letters on Mythology. See alſo *Voyage du Jeune Anacharſis*, vol. iii. 138.—*T.*

Mention is made in Athenæus of a phallus, carried in a Bacchanal proceſſion, of gold, and one hundred and twenty cubits long. It was moreover adorned with garlands, which were twined round it to its vertex, where was a golden ſtar ſix cubits in circumference.—*See Athenæus*, book v. chap. 5.

[88] *Melampus.*]—So called becauſe, being expoſed when a child by his mother Rhodope, his whole perſon was covered, excepting

of Amytheon, was acquainted with this ceremony. It was Melampus who firſt taught the Greeks the name and the ſacrifice of Bacchus, and introduced the proceſſion of the phalli [89]; the myſterious purport of which he did not ſufficiently explain; but ſince his time it has received from different ſages adequate illuſtration. It is unqueſtionable, that the uſe of the phalli in the ſacrifice of Bacchus, with the other ceremonies which the Greeks now know and practiſe, were firſt taught them by Melampus. I therefore, without heſitation, pronounce him to have been a man of wiſdom, and of ſkill in the art of divination. Inſtructed by the Ægyptians [90] in various ceremonies, and particularly in thoſe which relate to Bacchus, with ſome few trifling changes he brought them into Greece. I can by no means im-

ing his feet; theſe the rays of the ſun turned black. He was a famous ſoothſayer: he was alſo, according to Pauſanias, a phyſician, and had a temple and ſtatues, and ſolemn games inſtituted in his honour.—*T.*

89 *Of the phalli.*]—In what manner theſe were carried in proceſſions, may be ſeen in the Acharnenſes of Ariſtophanes.

Ο Ξανθιας τον φαλλον ορθον ϛησατω.

See alſo the Scholiaſt on this paſſage.—*T.*

90 *Inſtructed by the Ægyptians.*]—As Ægypt was then famous for the ſciences and arts, the Greeks, who were beginning to emerge from barbariſm, travelled thither to obtain knowledge, which they might afterwards communicate to their countrymen. With this view the following illuſtrious characters viſited this country: « Orpheus, Muſæus, Melampus, Dædalus, Homer, Lycurgus the Spartan, Solon of Athens, Plato the philoſopher, Pythagoras of Samos, Eudoxus, Democritus of Abdera, Ænopis of Chios, &c. &c."—*Larcher.*

pute to accident the reſemblance which exiſts in the rites of Bacchus in Ægypt, and in Greece; in this caſe they would not have differed ſo eſſentially from the Grecian manners, and they might have been traced to more remote antiquity: neither will I affirm that theſe, or that any other religious ceremonies, were borrowed of Greece [91] by the Ægyptians; I rather think that Melampus learned all theſe particulars which relate to the worſhip of Bacchus, from Cadmus, and his Tyrian companions, when they came from Phœnicia to what is now called Bœotia [92].

L. Ægypt has certainly communicated to Greece the names of almoſt all the gods; that they are of barbarian origin, I am convinced by my different reſearches. The names of Neptune and the Dioſcuri I mentioned before; with theſe, if we except Juno [93], Veſta, Themis, the Graces, and the Nereids, the names of all the other deities have always been familiar in Ægypt. In this inſtance I

[91] *Borrowed of Greece.*]—See Bryant's Mythology, vol. ii. 483. Diodorus Sic. vol. i. 62, 63, Weſſeling's edition.—*T.*

[92] *Bœotia.*]—This country was ſo called from Bœotus, ſon of Itonus, and the nymph Menalippe, and grandſon of Amphictyon. See Diodorus Sic. lib. iv. 67; and alſo Thucydides, lib. i. p. 11.

[93] *Juno.*]—We learn from Porphyry, that to the Ægyptian Juno, on a certain feſtival, three men were ſacrificed, who were firſt of all examined like ſo many calves deſtined for the altar. Amaſis aboliſhed theſe, ſubſtituting in their room three figures in wax. Porphyr. de Abſtinentiâ, lib. ii. c. 55.

do but repeat the opinions of the Ægyptians. Those names of which they disclaim any knowledge are all, except Neptune, of Pelasgian derivation: for their acquaintance with this deity, they are indebted to Africa, where indeed he was first of all known, and has always been greatly honoured. The Ægyptians do not pay any religious ceremonies to heroes.

LI. With the above, the Greeks have derived many other circumstances of religious worship from Ægypt, which I shall hereafter relate; they did not however learn from hence, but from the Pelasgi, to construct the figure of Mercury with an erect priapus, which custom was first introduced by the Athenians, and communicated from them to others. At that period the Athenians were ranked among the nations of Greece, and had the Pelasgians for their neighbours; from which incident this people also began to be esteemed as Greeks. Of the truth of this, whoever has been initiated in the Cabirian mysteries[94], which the Samothracians use, and learned

94 *Cabirian mysteries.*]—The Cabiri, says Montfaucon, were a sort of deities about whom the antients differ much. The Cabiri, the Curetæ, the Corybantes, the Idean Dactyli, and sometimes the Telchinii, were taken for the same: they were sometimes taken for the Dioscuri. With regard to their functions, and the places in which they exercised, opinions equally various are held: some call them the sons of Vulcan, others of Jupiter.—*See Montfaucon.*

"They," says Mr. Larcher, principally from the Scholiast to the Irene of Aristophanes, "who had been admitted to these mysteries were highly esteemed, as they were supposed to have nothing to

ed of the Pelasgi, will be necessarily convinced; for the Pelasgians before they lived near the Athenians formerly inhabited Samothracia, and taught the people of that country their mysteries. By them the Athenians were first of all instructed to make the figure of Mercury with an upright priapus. For this the Pelasgians have a sacred tradition, which is explained in the Samothracian mysteries.

LII. The Pelasgians, as I was informed at Dodona, formerly offered all things indiscriminately to the gods. They distinguished them by no name or surname, for they were hitherto unacquainted with either; but they called them gods, which by its etymology means disposers, from observing the orderly disposition and distribution of the various

to apprehend from tempests." "They," observes Plutarch, "who had learned their names, availed themselves of them as a kind of amulet to avert calamity, pronouncing them slowly."

These names were, according to the Scholiast on Apollon. Rhod. Ceres, Proserpine, and Pluto, to which others add Mercury.

Who these Cabirim might be, has been a matter of unsuccessful enquiry to many learned men. The utmost that is known with certainty is, that they were originally three, and were called, by way of eminence, The Great, or Mighty Ones, for that is the import of the Hebrew name. Of the like import is the Latin appellation, Penates: Dii per quos *penitus*, spiramus, &c. Thus the joint worship of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, the triad of the Roman capitol, is traced to that of *The Three Mighty Ones* in Samothrace, which was established in that island, at what precise time it is impossible to determine; but earlier, if Eusebius may be credited, than the days of Abraham.—*Bishop Horsley's Charge to the Clergy, &c.*—*T.*

parts

parts of the univerſe. They learned, but not till a late period, the names of the divinities from the Ægyptians, and Bacchus was the laſt whom they knew. Upon this ſubject they afterwards conſulted the oracle of Dodona[94], by far the moſt ancient oracle of Greece, and at the period of which we ſpeak, the only one. They deſired to know whether they might with propriety adopt the names which they had learned of the barbarians, and were anſwered that they might; they have accordingly uſed them ever ſince in their rites of ſacrifice, and from the Pelaſgi they were communicated to the Greeks.

LIII. Of the origin of each deity, whether they have all of them always exiſted, as alſo of their form, their knowledge is very recent indeed. The invention of the Grecian theogony[95], the names, the

95 *Oracle of Dodona.*]—See on this ſubject Bryant's Mythology, vol. ii. 286.

96 *Grecian theogony.*]—To ſuppoſe Homer to have been the author of the theology and mythology contained in his poems, would be as unreaſonable as to imagine that he firſt taught the Greeks to read and write. We find that, in the following ages, when wiſe men began to reaſon more upon theſe ſubjects, they cenſured Homer's theology, as highly injurious to the gods, if it were underſtood in the literal ſenſe. But when Homer wrote, he had ſufficient excuſe and authority for the fables which he delivered: and he introduced into his poems, by way of machinery, and with ſome decorations, theological legends, contrived in more rude and ignorant times, and ſanctified by hoary age and venerable tradition. Tradition had preſerved ſome memory of the things which the gods had done and had ſuffered when they were men.—*Jortin's Diſſertation,* 207.

the honours, the forms, and the functions of the deities may with propriety be afcribed to Hefiod and to Homer [97], who I believe lived four hundred years, and not more, before myfelf. If I may give my opinion, the poets who are reported to have been before thefe, were certainly after them. What I have faid of the names and origin of the gods, has been on the authority of the priefts of Dodona; of Hefiod and of Homer I have delivered my own fentiments.

LIV. Of the two oracles of Greece and Lybia, the Ægyptians fpeak as follows: I was told by the minifters of the Theban Jupiter, that the Phœnicians had violently carried off from Thebes two priefteffes, one of whom had been fold into Africa, the other into Greece; they added, that the commencement

This evidence of Herodotus muft be efteemed early, and his judgment valid. What can afford us a more fad account of the doubt and darknefs in which mankind was enveloped, than thefe words of the hiftorian? How plainly does he fhew the neceffity of divine interpofition, and of revelation in confequence of it!—*Bryant's Mythology*, i. 307.

Hefiode a laiffé un nom célebre et des ouvrages eftimés, comme on l'a fuppofé contemporain d' Homere, quelques-uns ont penfé qu'il étoit fon rival, mais Homere ne pouvoit avoir de rivaux.

La théogonie d'Hefiode, comme celle de plufieurs anciens ecrivains de la Grèce, n'eft qu'un tiffu d'idées abfurdes, ou d'allegories impénétrables. *Voyage du Jeune Anacharfis*, iii. 315.

97 *Homer.*]—To me it feems certain that the life of Homer, attributed to Herodotus, was not written by our hiftorian. This I think might very eafily be proved, but it would require a differtation, and much exceed the limits of a note.—*Larcher.*

of

of the above oracles muſt be aſſigned to theſe two women. On my requeſting to know their authority for theſe aſſertions, they anſwered, that after a long and ineffectual ſearch after theſe prieſteſſes, they had finally learned what they had told me.

LV. I have related the intelligence which I gained from the prieſts at Thebes: The prieſteſſes of Dodona[98] aſſert, that two black pigeons flew from Thebes in Ægypt, one of which ſettled in Africa, the other among themſelves; which latter, reſting on the branch of a beech-tree, declared with a human voice that here by divine appointment was to be an oracle of Jove. The inhabitants, fully impreſſed that this was a divine communication, inſtantly complied with the injunction. The dove which flew to Africa in like manner commanded the people to fix there an oracle of Ammon, which alſo is an oracle of Jupiter. Such was the information I received from the prieſteſſes of Dodona, the eldeſt of whom was called Promenea, the ſecond Timarete, the youngeſt Nicandre; the

[98] *Prieſteſſes of Dodona.*]—There is an account given by Palæphatus, of one Metra, or Meeſtra, who could change herſelf into various forms. The ſtory at bottom is very plain: Ægypt was frequently called Meſtra and Meſtraia, and by the perſon here called Meſtra we are certainly to underſtand a woman of the country. She was ſometimes ſimply mentioned as a *cahen* or prieſteſs, which the Greeks have rendered Κυνα, a dog. Women in this ſacred character attended at the ſhrine of Apis and Mnenis, and of the ſacred heifer at Onuphis. Some of them in different countries were ſtyled Cygneans, and alſo Peleiadæ, of whom the principal were the women at Dodona — *Bryant.*

other

other minifters employed in the fervice of the temple agreed with thefe in every particular.

LVI. My opinion of the matter is this: If the Phœnicians did in reality carry away thefe two prieftefles, and fell one to Africa, the other to Greece, this latter muft have been carried to the Thefproti, which country, though part of what is now termed Greece, was formerly called Pelafgia[99]. That, although in a ftate of fervitude, fhe erected, under the fhade of a beech-tree, a facred edifice to Jupiter, which fhe might very naturally be prompted to do, from the remembrance of the temple of Jupiter at Thebes, whence fhe was taken. Thus fhe inftituted the oracle, and having learned the Greek language, might probably relate that by the fame Phœnicians her fifter was fold for a flave to Africa.

LVII. The name of doves was probably given them becaufe, being ftrangers, the found of their voices might to the people of Dodona feem to refemble the tone of thofe birds. When the woman, having learned the language, delivered her thoughts in words which were generally underftood, the dove might be faid to have fpoken with an human voice. Before fhe had thus accomplifhed herfelf, her voice might appear like that of a dove. It certainly can-

99 *Pelafgia.*]—The people who then compofed the body of the Hellenistic nation in thofe ancient times, gave their names to the countries which they occupied. The Pelafgians were widely difperfed.—*Larcher.*

not be ſuppoſed that a dove ſhould ſpeak with a human voice; and the circumſtance of her being black, explains to us her Ægyptian origin.

LVIII. The two oracles of Ægyptian Thebes and of Dodona have an entire reſemblance to each other. The art of divination, as now practiſed in our temples, is thus derived from Ægypt; at leaſt the Ægyptians were the firſt who introduced the ſacred feſtivals, proceſſions, and ſupplications, and from them the Greeks were inſtructed. Of this it is to me a ſufficient teſtimony, that theſe religious ceremonies are in Greece but of modern date, whereas in Ægypt they have been in uſe from the remoteſt antiquity.

LIX. In the courſe of the year the Ægyptians celebrate various public feſtivals [100]; but the feſtival in honour of Diana, at the city Bubaſtos, is the firſt in dignity and importance. The ſecond is held in honour of Iſis, at the city Buſiris, which is ſituated in the middle of the Delta, and contains the largeſt temple of that goddeſs. Iſis is called in the Greek tongue, Demeter or Ceres. The ſolemnities of Minerva, obſerved at Sais [101], are the third in conſequence; the fourth are at Heliopolis, and ſa-

[100] *Feſtivals.*]—Mr. Savary, with other modern travellers, give us an account of the annual fairs of Ægypt. Theſe are to be conſidered as the remains of the ancient pilgrimages of the Ægyptians to Canopus, Sais, and Bubaſtos.

[101] *Sais.*]—This place is by ſome ſuppoſed to be the Sin of the ſcriptures.—*T.*

cred

cred to the ſun; the fifth are thoſe of Latona, at Butos; the next thoſe of Mars, ſolemnized at Papremis.

LX. They who meet to celebrate the feſtival at Bubaſtos [102] embark in veſſels, a great number of men and women promiſcuouſly mixed. During the paſſage ſome of the women [103] ſtrike their tabors, accompanied by the men playing on flutes. The reſt of both ſexes clap their hands, and join in chorus. Whatever city they approach, the veſſels are brought to ſhore: of the women ſome continue their inſtrumental muſic, others call aloud to the females of the place, provoke them by injurious language, dance about, and indecently throw aſide their garments. This they do at every place near which they paſs. On their arrival at Bubaſtos, the feaſt commences, by the ſacrifice of many victims, and upon this occaſion a greater quantity of wine [104] is

102 *Bubaſtos.*]—Savary has tranſlated this paſſage in his Letters on Ægypt. From a compariſon of his verſion with mine, it is painful to obſerve he has given to Herodotus what the hiſtorian never imagined.—*Larcher.*

103 *The women.*]—Theſe, no doubt, are the Almai, which were not then more decent than now.

The Ægyptians ſince Herodotus have been governed by various nations, and at length are ſunk deep in ignorance and ſlavery, but their true character has undergone no change. The frantic ceremonies the pagan religion authorized are now renewed around the ſepulchres of Santons, before the churches of the Copts, and in the fairs I mentioned.—*Savary.*

104 *Quantity of wine.*]—In the Greek it is wine of the vine, to diſtinguiſh it from beer, which he calls barley-wine.—*Larcher.*

Whoever

is consumed than in all the rest of the year. The natives report, that at this solemnity seven hundred thousand [105] men and women assemble, not to mention children.

LXI. I have before related in what manner the rites of Isis are celebrated at Busiris. After the ceremonies of sacrifice the whole assembly, to the amount of many thousands, flagellate [106] themselves, but in whose honour they do this I am not at liberty to disclose. The Carians of Ægypt treat themselves at this solemnity with unparalleled severity [107]: they cut themselves in the face with swords, and by this distinguish themselves from the Ægyptian natives.

LXII. At the sacrifice solemnized at Sais, the assembly is held by night; they suspend before their houses in the open air, lamps which are filled with oil

Whoever has not seen a witty and humourous dissertation on οινος κριθινος, or barley-wine, published at Oxford in 1750, may promise himself much entertainment from its perusal.—*T.*

105 *Seven hundred thousand.*]—For seven hundred thousand, some read only seventy thousand.—*T.*

106 *Flagellate themselves.*]—The manner in which Voltaire has translated this passage is, too singular to be omitted—"On frappe, dans la ville de Busiris, dit Herodote, les hommes et les femmes après le sacrifice, mais de dire où on les frappe, c'est ce qui ne m'est pas permis."—*Questions sur l'Encyclopédie.*

107 Xenophanes, the physician, seeing the Ægyptians lament and beat themselves at their festivals, says to them, sensibly enough, "If your gods be gods in reality, cease to lament them; but if they are mortals, forbear to sacrifice to them."—*Plutarch.*

mixed

mixed with salt[108]; a wick floats at the top, which will burn all night: the feast itself is called the feast of lamps[109]. Such of the Ægyptians as do not attend the ceremony think themselves obliged to observe the evening of the festival, and in like manner burn lamps before their houses: thus on this night not Sais only, but all Ægypt is illuminated. A religious motive is assigned for the festival itself, and for the illuminations by which it is distinguished.

LXIII. At Heliopolis and Butos[110], sacrifices alone are offered, but at Papremis, as at other places, in addition to the offering of victims, other religious ceremonies are observed. At the close of the day a small number of priests are in immediate attendance upon the statue of Mars; a greater number, armed

[108] *Salt.*]—Salt was constantly used at all entertainments, both of the gods and men, whence a particular sanctity was believed to be lodged in it: it is hence called θειος αλς, divine salt, by Homer.—*Potter.*

[109] *Feast of lamps.*]—This feast, which much resembles the feast of lamps observed from time immemorial in China, seems to confirm the opinion of M. de Guignes, who has been the first to intimate that China was a colony from Ægypt.—*Larcher.*

In Ægypt there is no rejoicing, no festival of any consideration at all, unaccompanied with illumination. For this purpose they make use of earthen lamps, which they put into very deep vessels of glass, in such a manner as that the glass is two thirds, or at least one half of its height, higher than the lamp, in order to preserve the light, and prevent its extinction by the wind. The Ægyptians have carried this art to the highest perfection, &c. —*Maillet.*

[110] *Butos.*]—This is indifferently written Butos, Butis, and Buto.—*T.*

with

with clubs, place themſelves at the entrance of the temple; oppoſite to theſe may be ſeen more than a thouſand men tumultuouſly aſſembled, with clubs alſo in their hands, to perform their religious vows. The day before the feſtival they remove the ſtatue of the god, which is kept in a ſmall caſe decorated with gold, to a different apartment. The prieſts attendant upon the ſtatue place it, together with its caſe, on a four-wheeled carriage, and begin to draw it along. Thoſe at the entrance of the temple endeavour to prevent its admiſſion: but the votaries above mentioned come to the ſuccour of the god, and a combat enſues between the two parties, in which many heads are broken, and I ſhould ſuppoſe many lives loſt, though this the Ægyptians poſitively deny.

LXIV. The motive for this ceremony is thus explained by the natives of the country:—This temple, they ſay, was the reſidence of the mother of Mars: the god himſelf, who had been brought up at a diſtance from his parent, on his arrival at man's eſtate came hither to viſit his mother. The attendants, who had never ſeen him before, not only refuſed to admit him, but roughly drove him from the place. Obtaining proper aſſiſtance, he returned, ſeverely chaſtiſed thoſe who had oppoſed him, and obtained admiſſion to his parent. From this circumſtance the above mode of fighting was ever after practiſed on the feſtival of Mars: and theſe people were alſo the firſt who made it a point of religion

not

not to communicate carnally with a woman [111] in a temple, nor enter any consecrated place after the venereal act, without having first washed. Except the Ægyptians and the Greeks, all other nations without scruple connect themselves with women in their temples, nor think it necessary to wash themselves after such connection, previous to their paying their devotions. In this instance they rank man indiscriminately with other animals; for observing that birds as well as beasts copulate in shrines and temples, they conclude that it cannot be offensive to the deity. Such a mode of reasoning does not by any means obtain my approbation.

111 *Communicate carnally with a woman.*]—Mention is made of the Mossyri, called by Apollonius Rhodius, Mossyræci, who copulated in the public streets. See Xenophon, Diodorus Siculus, and others.

Next by the sacred hill their oars impel
Firm Argo, where the Mossyræcians dwell,
Of manners strange, for they with care conceal
Those deeds which others openly reveal,
And actions that in secret should be done
Perform in public and before the sun;
For, like the monsters of the bristly drove,
In public they perform the feats of love.

Fawkes Apollonius Rhod.

Quid ego de Cynicis loquar, quibus in propatulo coire cum conjugibus mos fuit. Lactantius.—See also what Diogenes Laertius says of Crates and Hipparchia. See Bayle on the Adamites and Picards, and also "A Dialogue concerning Decency."—T. See also Herodotus, book i.

LXV.

LXV. The superstition of the Ægyptians is conspicuous in various instances, but in this more particularly: notwithstanding the vicinity of their country to Africa, the number of beasts is comparatively small, but all of them, both those which are wild and those which are domestic, are regarded as sacred. If I were to explain the reason of this prejudice, I should be led to the discussion of those sacred subjects, which I particularly wish to avoid [112], and which but from necessity I should not have discussed so fully as I have. Their laws compel them to cherish animals; a certain number of men and women are appointed to this office, which is esteemed so honourable [113], that it descends in succession from father to son. In the presence of these animals the inhabitants of the cities perform their vows. They address themselves as supplicants to the divinity, who is supposed to be represented by the animal in whose presence they are; they then cut off their childrens' hair, sometimes the whole

[112] *Wish to avoid.*]—The ancients were remarkably scrupulous in every thing which regarded religion; but in the time of Diodorus Siculus strangers did not pay the same reverence to the religious rites of the Ægyptians. This historian was not afraid to acquaint us with the motives which induced the Ægyptians to pay divine honours to animals.—*Larcher.*

See Diodorus Siculus, lib. i. 21.

[113] *Esteemed so honourable.*]—So far from refusing this employ, or being ashamed publicly to exercise it, they make a vain display of it, as if they participated the greatest honours of the gods. When they travel through the cities, or the country, they make known, by certain marks which they exhibit, the particular animal of which they have the care. They who meet them as they journey respect and worship these.—*Diodorus Siculus.*

of it, ſometimes half, at other times only a third part; this they weigh in a balance againſt a piece of ſilver; as ſoon as the ſilver preponderates, they give it to the woman who keeps the beaſt, ſhe in return feeds the beaſt with pieces of fiſh, which is their conſtant food. It is a capital offence deſignedly to kill any one of theſe [114] animals; to deſtroy one accidentally is puniſhed by a fine, determined by the prieſts; but whoever, however involuntarily, kills an ibis [115] or an hawk [116] cannot by any means eſcape death.

LXVI. The number of domeſtic animals in Ægypt is very great, and would be much greater if

[114] *To kill any one of theſe.*]—The cat was alſo held in the extremeſt veneration by the ancient Ægyptians; and Diodorus Siculus relates, that a Roman having by accident killed a cat, the common people inſtantly ſurrounded his houſe with every demonſtration of fury. The king's guards were inſtantly diſpatched to reſcue him from their rage, but in vain; his authority and the Roman name were equally ineffectual.—In the moſt extreme neceſſities of famine, they rather choſe to feed on human fleſh than on theſe animals.—*T.*

[115] *Ibis.*]—The Ægyptians thus venerated the ibis, becauſe they were ſuppoſed to devour the ſerpents which bred in the ground after the ebbing of the Nile.—*T.*

[116] *Hawk.*]—They have a kind of domeſtic large brown hawk, with a fine eye. One may ſee the pigeons and hawks ſtanding cloſe to one another. The Turks never kill them, and ſeem to have a ſort of veneration for theſe birds and for cats, as well as their anceſtors. The ancient Ægyptians in this animal worſhipped the ſun or Oſiris, of which the brightneſs of its eyes was an emblem.—*Pococke.*

Oſiris was worſhipped at Philæ, under the figure of the Æthiopian hawk.—*T.*

the increase of cats [117] were not thus frustrated—The female cats, when delivered of their young, carefully avoid the company of the males, who to obtain a second commerce with them contrive and execute this stratagem: they steal the young from the mother, which they destroy, but do not eat. This animal, which is very fond of its young, from its desire to have more, again covets the company of the male. In every accident of fire, the cats seem to be actuated by some supernatural [118] impulse; for the Ægyptians surrounding the place which is burning appear to be occupied with no thought but that of preserving their cats. These, however, by stealing between the legs of the spectators, or by leaping over their heads, endeavour

[117] *If the increase of cats, &c.*]—There occurs, I own, a difficulty in the Ægyptian system of theology. It is evident from their method of propagation, that a couple of cats in fifty years would stock a whole kingdom. If religious veneration were paid them, it would in twenty more not only be easier in Ægypt to find a god than a man, (which Petronius says was the case in some parts of Italy) but the gods must at last entirely starve the men, and leave themselves neither priests nor votaries remaining. It is probable, therefore, that this wise nation, the most celebrated in antiquity for prudence and sound policy, foreseeing such dangerous consequences, reserved all their worship for the full-grown divinities, and used the freedom to drown the holy spawn, or little sucking gods, without any scruple or remorse. And thus the practice of warping the tenets of religion, in order to serve temporal interests, is not by any means to be regarded as an invention of these later ages.—*Hume.*

[118] *Supernatural.*]—It is astonishing that Herodotus should see this as a prodigy. The cat is a timid animal, fire makes it more so: the precautions taken to prevent its perishing frighten it still more, and deprive it of its sagacity.—*Larcher.*

to dart into the flames. This circumſtance, whenever it happens, diffuſes univerſal ſorrow [119]. In whatever family a cat by accident happens to die, every individual cuts off his eye-brows [120]; but on the death of a dog [121] they ſhave their heads and every part of their bodies.

LXVII.

119 *Univerſal ſorrow.*]—One method of mourning prevalent in the Eaſt, was to aſſemble in multitudes, and bewail aloud. In a manuſcript of Sir John Chardin, part of which has been given in the work of Mr. Harmer, we have this remark: "It is the genius of the people of Aſia to expreſs their ſentiments of joy and grief aloud. Theſe their tranſports are ungoverned, exceſſive, and truly outrageous." See Harmer, vol. ii. p. 136.

120 *Cuts off his eye-brows.*]—The cuſtom of cutting off the hair in mourning appears to have obtained in the Eaſt in the prophetic times.

Among the ancient Greeks it was ſometimes laid upon the dead body, ſometimes caſt into the funeral pile, and ſometimes placed upon the grave.

Women in the deep mourning of captivity, ſhaved off their hair. "Then thou ſhalt bring her home to thine houſe, and ſhe ſhall ſhave her head and pare her nails." *Deuteronomy*, xxi. 12.

Maillet ſays, that in the Eaſt the women that attend a corpſe to the grave generally have their hair hanging looſe about their ears.

121 *Death of a dog.*]—In this reſpect Plutarch differs from Herodotus. He allows that theſe animals were at one time eſteemed holy, but it was before the time of Cambyſes. From the æra of his reign they were held in another light; for when this king killed the ſacred Apis, the dogs fed ſo liberally upon his entrails, without making a proper diſtinction, that they loſt all their ſanctity. But they were certainly of old looked upon as ſacred; and it was perhaps with a view to this, and to prevent the Iſraelites retaining any notion of this nature, that a dog was not ſuffered to come within the precincts of the temple of Jeruſalem.

LXVII. The cats when dead are carried to ſacred buildings, and after being ſalted [122] are buried in the city Bubaſtis. Of the canine ſpecies, the females are buried in conſecrated cheſts, wherever they may happen to die, which ceremony is alſo obſerved with reſpect to the ichneumons [123]. The ſhrew-

Jeruſalem. In the Moſaic law, the price of a dog, and the hire of a harlot, are put upon the ſame level. See Deuteronomy, xxiii. 18. "Thou ſhalt not bring the hire of a whore nor the price of a dog into the houſe of the Lord thy God for any vow, for both theſe are an abomination to the Lord thy God."—*Bryant*.

It is becauſe the dog was conſecrated to Anubis, that he was repreſented with a dog's head. Virgil and Ovid call him Latrator Anubis; Propertius and Prudentius, Latrans Anubis.—*Larcher*.

At the preſent day dogs are conſidered in the Eaſt as defiling: they do not ſuffer them in their houſes, and ever with care avoid touching them in the ſtreets. By the ancient Jews, as remarked before, they were conſidered in a diſagreeable light. "Am I a dog?" ſays the Philiſtine to David. "What is thy ſervant a dog?" ſays Hazael, &c. See Harmer, vol. i. p. 220. It may indeed be obſerved, that in moſt countries and languages the word dog is a term of contempt. "I took by the throat the uncircumciſed dog."—*T.*

122 *After being ſalted.*]—Diodorus Siculus ſays the ſame thing, and he alſo deſcribes the proceſs uſed on the occaſion.—*T.*

123 *Ichneumon*]—is found both in Upper and Lower Ægypt. It creeps ſlowly along, as if ready to ſeize its prey; it feeds on plants, eggs, and fowls. In Upper Ægypt it ſearches for the eggs of the crocodile, which lie hid in the ſand, and eats them, thereby preventing the increaſe of that animal. It may be eaſily tamed, and goes about the houſes like a cat. It makes a growling noiſe, and barks when it is very angry. The French in Ægypt have called this Rat de Pharaon. Alpinus and Bellonius,

ſhrew-mice and hawks are always removed to Butos; the ibis to Hermopolis [124]; the bears, an animal rarely ſeen in Ægypt, and the wolves [125], which are not much bigger than foxes, are buried in whatever place they die.

LXVIII. I proceed now to deſcribe the nature of the crocodile [126], which during the four ſeverer months of winter eats nothing: it is a quadruped, but amphibious; it is alſo oviparous, and depoſits its eggs in the ſand; the greater part of the day it ſpends on ſhore, but all the night in the water,

nius, following this, have called it Mus Pharaonis. The reſemblance it has to a mouſe in colour and hair, might have induced people ignorant of natural hiſtory to call it a mouſe; but why Pharaoh's mouſe? The Ægyptians were in the time of Pharaoh too intelligent to call it a mouſe: nor is it at this day called *phar* by the Arabs, which is the name for mouſe; they call it *nems*. What is related concerning its entering the jaws of the crocodile is fabulous.—*Haſſelquiſt.*

124 *Hermopolis.*]—There were in Ægypt two places of this name, Weſſeling ſuppoſes Herodotus to ſpeak of that in the Thebaid.—*T.*

125 *Wolves.*]—Haſſelquiſt did not meet with either of theſe animals in Ægypt.

Wolves were honoured in Ægypt, ſays Euſebius, probably from their reſemblance to the dog. Some relate, that the Æthiopians having made an expedition againſt Ægypt, were put to flight by a vaſt number of wolves, which occaſioned the place where the incident happened to be called Lycopolis.

126 *Of the crocodile.*]—The general nature and properties of the crocodile are ſufficiently known. I ſhall therefore be contented with giving the reader, from different authors, ſuch particulars of this extraordinary animal as are leſs notorious. The circumſtance

water, as being warmer than the external air [127], whofe cold is increafed by the dew. No animal that I have feen or known, from being at firft fo remarkably diminutive grows to fo vaft a fize. The

circumftance of their eating nothing during the four fevere winter months feems to be untrue.

The excrements do not appear to pafs through the anus, they pafs through the gut into the ventricle, and are vomited up. Under the fhoulder of the old crocodile is a folliculus containing a thick matter, which fmells like mufk, a perfume much efteemed in Ægypt. When the male copulates with the female, he turns her with his fnout on her back.

The fat of the crocodile is ufed by the Ægyptians againft the rheumatifm. The gall is thought good for the eyes, and for barrennefs in women. The eyes are an aphrodifiac, and as Haffelquift affirms, efteemed by the Arabs fuperior even to ambergreafe.

When the ancient prophets in the Old Teftament fpeak of a dragon, a crocodile is generally to be underftood. "Am I a "fea or a jannin?" See Job, vii. 12; where, according to Harmer, a crocodile alone can be meant. The animal is of moft extraordinary ftrength. "One of twelve feet," fays Maillet, "after a long faft threw down with the ftroke of his tail five or fix men, and a bale of coffee." They fleep in the fun, but not foundly. They feldom defcend below the Thebais, and never below Grand Cairo. Some have been feen fifty feet long. Herodotus fays it has no tongue, but it has a flefhy fubftance like a tongue, which ferves it to turn its meat: it is faid to move only the upper jaw, and to lay fifty eggs. It is not a little remarkable, that the ancient name being champfa, the Ægyptians now call it timfah.—*T.*

127 *Warmer than the external air.*]—Water expofed to violent heat during the day preferves its warmth in the night, and is then much lefs cold than the external air.—*Larcher.*

From confulting modern travellers, we find the remarks of Herodotus on the crocodile, excepting only the particularities which we have pointed out, confirmed.—*T.*

eggs are not larger than thoſe of geeſe: on leaving the ſhell the young is proportionably ſmall, but when arrived at its full ſize it is ſometimes more than ſeventeen cubits in length: it has eyes like a hog [128], teeth large and prominent, in proportion to the dimenſions of its body; but, unlike all other animals, it has no tongue. It is further and moſt ſingularly diſtinguiſhed by only moving its upper jaw. Its feet are armed with ſtrong fangs; the ſkin is protected by hard ſcales regularly divided. In the open air its ſight is remarkably acute, but it cannot ſee at all in the water: living in the water its throat is always full of leeches; beaſts and birds univerſally avoid it, the trochilus alone excepted, which, from a ſenſe of gratitude, it treats with kindneſs. When the crocodile leaves the water, it reclines itſelf on the ſand, and generally towards the weſt, with its mouth open: the trochilus entering its throat deſtroys the leeches; in acknowledgment

[128] *Eyes like a hog.*]—The leviathan of Job is variouſly underſtood by critics for the whale and the crocodile. Both theſe animals are remarkable for the ſmallneſs of their eyes, in proportion to the bulk of their bodies: thoſe of the crocodile are ſaid to be extremely piercing out of the water; in which ſenſe therefore the poet's expreſſion, "its eyes are like the eye-lids of "the morning," can only be applicable. Dr. Young, in his paraphraſe on this part of Job, deſcribing the crocodile as the animal intended in the original, has given the image an erroneous reference to the magnitude rather than the brightneſs of its eye.

> Large is his front, and when his burniſh'd eyes
> Lift their broad lids, the morning ſeems to riſe.

Dr. Aikin, Poetial Uſe of Nat. Hiſt.

for

for which ſervice it never does the trochilus injury.

LXIX. This animal, by many of the Ægyptians, is eſteemed ſacred [129], by others it is treated as an enemy [130]. They who live near Thebes, and the lake Mœris, hold the crocodile in religious veneration: they ſelect one, which they render tame and docile, ſuſpending golden ornaments from its ears [131], and ſometimes gems of value; the fore feet are ſecured by a chain. They feed it with the fleſh of

[129] *Eſteemed ſacred.*]—On this ſubject we have the following ſingular ſtory in Maximus Tyrius. An Ægyptian woman brought up the young one of a crocodile. The Ægyptians eſteemed her ſingularly fortunate, and revered her as the nurſe of a deity. The woman had a ſon about the ſame age with the crocodile, and they grew up and played together. No harm enſued whilſt the crocodile was gentle from being weak; but when it got its ſtrength it devoured the child. The woman exulted in the death of her ſon, and conſidered his fate as bleſſed in the extreme, in thus becoming the victim of their domeſtic god.—*T.*

[130] *Treated as an enemy.*]—Theſe were the people of Tentyra in particular, now called Dandera, they were famous for their intrepidity as well as art in overcoming crocodiles. For a particular account of their manner of treating them, ſee Pliny, book viii. chap. 25.—*T.*

[131] *Ornaments from its ears.*]—This ſeems to ſuppoſe, that the crocodile has ears externally, nevertheleſs thoſe which the Sultan ſent to Louis the Fourteenth, and which the academy of ſciences diſſected, had none. They found in them indeed apertures of the ears placed below the eyes, but concealed and covered with ſkin, which had the appearance of two eye-lids entirely cloſed. When the animal was alive, and out of the water, theſe lids probably opened. However this may be, it was, as may be preſumed, to theſe membranes that the ear-rings were fixed.—*Larcher.*

the

the ſacred victims, and with other appointed food. While it lives they treat it with unceaſing attention, and when it dies it is firſt embalmed, and afterwards depoſited in a ſacred cheſt. They who live in or near Elephantine, ſo far from conſidering theſe beaſts as ſacred, make them an article of food: they call them not crocodiles, but champſæ [132]. The name of crocodiles was firſt impoſed by the Ionians, from their reſemblance to lizards ſo named by them, which are produced in the hedges.

LXX. Among the various methods that are uſed to take the crocodile [133], I ſhall only relate one which moſt deſerves attention: they fix on a hook a piece of ſwine's fleſh, and ſuffer it to float into the middle of the ſtream; on the banks they have a live hog, which they beat till it cries out. The crocodile hearing the noiſe makes towards it, and in the way encounters and devours the bait. They

[132] *Champſæ.*]—The crocodile had many names, ſuch as carmin, ſouchus, campſa. This laſt ſignified an ark or receptacle.—*Bryant.*

[133] *To take the crocodile.*]—The moſt common way of killing the crocodile is by ſhooting it. The ball muſt be directed towards the belly, where the ſkin is ſoft, and not armed with ſcales like the back. Yet they give an account of a method of catching them ſomething like that which Herodotus relates. They make ſome animal cry at a diſtance from the river, and when the crocodile comes out they thruſt a ſpear into his body, to which a rope is tied: they then let him go into the water to ſpend himſelf; and afterwards drawing him out, run a pole into his mouth, and jumping on his back tie his jaws together.—*Pococke.*

then draw it on ſhore, and the firſt thing they do is to fill its eyes with clay; it is thus eaſily manageable, which it otherwiſe would not be.

LXXI. The hippopotamus [134] is eſteemed ſacred

134 *The hippopotamus.*]—It is to be obſerved, that the hippopotamos and crocodile were ſymbols of the ſame purport: both related to the deluge, and however the Greeks might ſometimes repreſent them, they were both in different places reverenced by the ancient Ægyptians.—*Bryant*, who refers his reader on this ſubject to the Iſis and Oſiris of Plutarch.

The hippopotamos is generally ſuppoſed to be the behemoth of ſcripture. Maillet ſays his ſkin is two fingers thick; and that it is ſo much the more difficult to kill it as there is only a ſmall place in its forehead where it is vulnerable. Haſſelquiſt claſſes it not with the amphibia but quadrupeds. It is an inveterate enemy to the crocodile, and kills it wherever it meets it. It never appears below the cataracts. The hide is a load for a camel: Maillet ſpeaks of one which would have been a heavy load for four camels. He does great injury to the Ægyptians, deſtroying in a very ſhort time an entire field of corn or clover. Their manner of deſtroying it is too curious to be omitted: they place in his way a great quantity of peaſe; the beaſt filling himſelf with theſe, they occaſion an intolerable thirſt. Upon theſe he drinks large draughts of water, and the Ægyptians afterwards find him dead on the ſhore, blown up as if killed with the ſtrongſt poiſon. Pennant relates, in his Synopſis of Animals, other and more plauſible means of taking this animal. Its voice is between the roaring of a bull and the braying of an elephant. It is at firſt interrupted with frequent ſhort pauſes, but may be heard at a great diſtance. The oftener he goes on ſhore, the better hopes have the Ægyptians of a ſufficient encreaſe of the Nile. His food, they ſay, can be almoſt diſtinguiſhed in his excrements. Pococke calls it a fiſh, and ſays that he was able to obtain little information concerning it.

The above particulars are compiled chiefly from Haſſelquiſt Maillet, and Pennant.—*T.*

in the diſtrict of Papremis, but in no other part of Ægypt. I ſhall deſcribe its nature and properties: it is a quadruped, its feet are cloven, and it has hoofs like an ox; the noſe is ſhort, but turned up, the teeth prominent; it reſembles a horſe in its mane, its tail, and its voice: it is of the ſize of a very large ox, and it has a ſkin ſo remarkably thick, that when dried it is made into offenſive weapons.

LXXII. The Nile alſo produces otters, which the Ægyptians venerate, as they alſo do the fiſh called lepitodus, and the eel [135]: theſe are ſacred to the Nile, as among the birds is one called the chenalopex [136].

LXXIII. They have alſo another ſacred bird, which, except in a picture, I have never ſeen: it is

[135] *The eel.*]—Antiphanes in Athenæus, addreſſing himſelf to the Ægyptians, ſays, "You adore the ox; I ſacrifice to the gods. You reverence the eel as a very powerful deity; we conſider it as the daintieſt of food." Antiphanes, and the Greek writers, who amuſed themſelves with ridiculing the religious ceremonies of Ægypt, were doubtleſs ignorant of the motive which cauſed this particular fiſh to be proſcribed. The fleſh of the eel, and ſome other fiſh, thickened the blood, and by checking the perſpiration excited all thoſe maladies connected with the leproſy. The prieſts forbade the people to eat it, and to render their prohibition more effectual, they pretended to regard theſe fiſh as ſacred. M. Paw pretends that the Greeks have been in an error in placing the eel amongſt the ſacred fiſh, but I have always to ſay to that learned man, where are your proofs?—*Larcher.*

[136] *Chenalopex.*]—This bird in figure greatly reſembles the gooſe, but it has all the art and cunning of the fox.—*Larcher.*

called

called the phœnix [137]. It is very uncommon even among themſelves; for according to the Heliopolitans, it comes there but once in the courſe of five hundred years, and then only at the deceaſe of the parent bird. If it bear any reſemblance to its picture, the wings are partly of a gold and partly of a ruby colour, and its form and ſize perfectly like the eagle. They relate one thing of it which ſurpaſſes all credibility: they ſay that it comes from Arabia to the temple of the ſun, bearing the dead body of its parent incloſed in myrrh, which it buries. It makes a ball of myrrh ſhaped like an egg, as large as it is able to carry, which it proves by experiment. This done, it excavates the maſs, into which it introduces the body of the dead bird; it again cloſes the aperture with myrrh, and the whole

137 *Phœnix.*]—From what is related of this bird the Phœnicians gave the name phœnix to the palm-tree, becauſe when burnt down to the ground it ſprings up again fairer and ſtronger than ever.

The ancient chriſtians alſo refer to the phœnix, as a type of the reſurrection.—*T.*

We find the following remark in Thomaſius de Plagio Literario.

Herodotus in ſecundo ex hiſtorica Hecatæi Mileſii narratione quamplurima verbis totidem exſcripſiſſe dicitur, pauca quadam leviter ementitus, cujuſmodi ſunt, quæ de phœnice ave, de que fluviatili equo et crocodilorum venatione commemorat, p. 204.

As to what he may have borrowed from Hecatæus, nothing can be ſaid, but the term 'leviter mentitus' does not appear to be candidly applicable to a writer who, in this book particularly, tells you in every page that he only relates the information he received, and who profeſſedly regards the ſtory of the phœnix as fabulous.—*T.*

becomes

becomes the same weight as when composed entirely of myrrh; it then proceeds to Ægypt to the temple of the sun.

LXXIV. In the vicinity of Thebes there are also sacred serpents [138], not at all troublesome to men: they are very small, but have two horns on the top of the head. When they die, they are buried in the temple of Jupiter, to whom they are said to belong.

LXXV. There is a place in Arabia, near the city Butos, which I visited for the purpose of obtaining information concerning the winged serpent [139]. I saw here a prodigious quantity of serpents

138 *Sacred serpents.*]—The symbolical worship of the serpent was in the first ages very extensive, and was introduced into all the mysteries wherever celebrated. It is remarkable that wherever the Amonians founded any places of worship, there was generally some story of a serpent. There was a legend about a serpent at Colchis, at Thebes, and at Delphi, &c.—*Bryant.*

The Ægyptians worshipped the goodness of the creator under the name of Cneph. The symbol, according to Eusebius, was a serpent. "The serpent within a circle, touching it at the two opposite points of its circumference, signifies the good genius."

These serpents, honoured by the name of Haridi, still are famous, as treated by the priests of Achmin.—*Savary.*

We have already observed, that the serpent was a symbol of the sun, which the Ægyptians gave a place in their sacred tables. Nor did they content themselves with placing the serpent with their gods, but often represented even the gods themselves with the body and tail of a serpent joined to their own head.—*Montfaucon.*

139 *Winged serpent.*]—We ought not to be too prompt either to

pents bones and ribs placed on heaps of different heights. The place itſelf is a ſtrait betwixt two mountains, it opens upon a wide plain which communicates with Ægypt. They affirm, that in the commencement of every ſpring theſe winged ſerpents fly from Arabia towards Ægypt, but that the ibis [140] here meets and deſtroys them. The Arabians ſay, that in acknowledgment of this ſervice the Ægyptians hold the ibis in great reverence, which is not contradicted by that people.

LXXVI. One ſpecies of the ibis is entirely black,

to believe, or the contrary, things which are uncommon. Although I have never ſeen winged ſerpents, I believe that they exiſt; for a Phrygian brought into Ionia a ſcorpion which had wings like thoſe of the graſshopper.—*Pauſanias.*

"The burden of the beaſts of the ſouth: into the land of trouble and anguiſh, from whence come the young and old lion, the viper, and fiery flying ſerpent, &c."—*Iſaiah*, xxx. 6.

De ſerpentibus memorandi maxime, quos parvos admodum et veneni præſentis, certo anni tempore ex limo concretarum paludum emergere in magno examine volantes Ægyptum tendere, atque in ipſo introitu finium ab avibus quas ibidas appellant, adverſo agmine excipi pugnaque confici traditum eſt.—*Pomponius Mela.*

[140] *Ibis.*]—The ibis was a bird with a long neck and a crooked beak, not much unlike the ſtork; his legs were long and ſtiff, and when he put his head and neck under his wing, the figure he made, as Ælian ſays, was ſomething like a man's heart. It is ſaid, that the uſe of clyſters was firſt found out from obſervations made of this bird's applying that remedy to himſelf, by the help of his long neck and beak. It is reported of it, that it could live no where but in Ægypt, but would pine itſelf to death if tranſported to another country.—*Montfaucon.*

black, its beak remarkably crooked, its legs as large as those of a crane, and in size it resembles the crex: this is the enemy of the serpents. The second species is the most common: these have the head and the whole of the neck naked; the plumage is white, except that on the head, the neck, the extremities of the wings, and the tail, these are of a deep black colour, but the legs and the beak resemble in all respects those of the other species. The form of the flying and of the aquatic serpents is the same: the wings of the former are not feathered, but entirely like those of the bats.—And thus I have finished my account of the sacred animals.

LXXVII. Those Ægyptians who live in the cultivated parts of the country are of all whom I have seen, the most ingenious, being attentive to the improvement of the memory [141] beyond the rest of mankind. To give some idea of their mode of life: for

In contradiction to the above, M. Larcher informs us, that one was kept for several years in the Ménagerie at Versailles.—*T.*

Hasselquist calls the Ardea ibis, the ibis of the ancient Ægyptians, because it is very common in Ægypt, and almost peculiar to that country; because it eats and destroys serpents; and because the urns found in sepulchres contain a bird of this size: it is of the size of a raven-hen.

[141] *Of the memory.*]—The invention of local memory is ascribed to Simonides. "Much," says Cicero, "do I thank Simonides of Chios, who first of all invented the art of memory." Simonides is by some authors affirmed to have taken medicines to acquire this accomplishment.—*See Bayle,* article *Simonides.*

Mr. Hume remarks, that the faculty of memory was much more

for three days successively in every month they use purges, vomits, and clysters; this they do out of attention to their health [142], being persuaded that the diseases of the body are occasioned by the different elements received as food. Besides this, we may venture to assert, that after the Africans there is no people in health and constitution [143] to be compared with the Ægyptians. To this advantage

more valued in ancient times than at present; that there is scarce any great genius celebrated in antiquity, who is not celebrated for this talent, and it is enumerated by Cicero amongst the sublime qualities of Cæsar.—*T.*

[142] *Their health, &c.*]—This assertion was true previous to the time of Herodotus, and a long time afterwards; but when they began to neglect the canals, the water putrefied, and the vapours which were exhaled rendering the air of Ægypt very unhealthy, malignant fevers soon began to appear: these became epidemical, and these vapours concentrating and becoming every day more pestilential, finally caused that dreadful malady known by the name of the plague. It was not so before canals were sunk at all, or as long as they were kept in good order: but probably that part of Lower Ægypt which inclines to Elearchis has never been healthy.—*Larcher.*

[143] *Health and constitution.*]—It is of this country, which seems to have been regarded by nature with a favourable eye, that the gods have made a sort of terrestrial paradise.—The air there is more pure and excellent than in any other part of the world; the women, and the females of other species, are more fruitful than any where else; the lands are more productive. As the men there commonly enjoy perfect health, the trees and plants never lose their verdure, and the fruits are always delicious, or at least salutary. It is true, that this air, good as it is, is subject to be corrupted in some proportion to other climates. It is even bad in those parts where, when the inundations of the Nile have been very great, this river in

tage the climate, which is here ſubject to no variations, may eſſentially contribute: changes of all kinds, and thoſe in particular of the ſeaſons, promote and occaſion the maladies of the body. To their bread, which they make with ſpelt, they give the name of cylleſtis; they have no vines[144] in the

returning to its channel, leaves marſhy places, which infect the country round about: the dew is alſo very dangerous in Ægypt. —*Quoted from Maillet, by Harmer in his Obſervations on Scripture.*

Pococke ſays, that the dew of Ægypt occaſions very dangerous diſorders in the eyes; but he adds, that they have the plague very rarely in Ægypt, unleſs brought by infection to Alexandria, where it does not commonly ſpread. Some ſuppoſe that this diſtemper breeds in temperate weather, and that exceſſive cold and heat ſtops it; ſo that they have it not in Conſtantinople in winter, nor in Ægypt in ſummer. The air of Cairo in particular is not thought to be wholeſome; the people are much ſubject to fluxes, and troubled with ruptures; the ſmall-pox alſo is common, but not dangerous; pulmonary diſeaſes are unknown. Savary ſpeaks in high terms of the healthineſs of the climate, but allows that the ſeaſon from February to the end of May is unhealthy. Volney, who contradicts Savary in many of his aſſertions, confirms what he ſays of the climate of Ægypt.—*T.*

144 *No vines.*]—That there muſt have been vines in ſome parts of Ægypt, is evident from the following paſſage in the book of Numbers: "And wherefore have ye made us to come up out of Ægypt, to bring us in unto this evil place? it is no place of ſeed or of figs, *or of vines*, or of pomegranates; neither is there any water to drink." Larcher therefore ſuppoſes Herodotus to ſpeak only of that part of Ægypt where corn was cultivated. Again, in the Pſalms, we have this paſſage: "He deſtroyed their vines with hail-ſtones." Ægypt, however, certainly never was a wine country, nor is it now productive

the country, but they drink a liquor fermented from barley [145]; they live principally upon fish, either

ductive of a quantity adequate to the wants of the inhabitants. —*T.*

The Greeks were wrong, says Savary, in wishing to establish a perfect resemblance betwixt Bacchus and Osiris. The first was honoured as the author of the vine; but the Ægyptians, far from attributing its culture to Osiris, held wine in abhorrence. "The Ægyptians," says Plutarch, "never drank wine before the time of Psammetichus; they held this liquor to be the blood of the giants, who having made war on the gods, had perished in battle, and that the vine sprang from the earth mingled with their blood; nor did they offer it in libations, thinking it odious to the gods." Whence the Oriental aversion for wine originated, would be difficult to say, but exist it did, which probably was one reason why it was forbidden by Mahomet. Perhaps we should seek for the cause in the curse of Noah, pronounced upon Ham, who insulted his father finding him drunk.—*Savary.*

In the time of Homer the vine grew wild in the island of Sicily, but it was not improved by the skill, nor did it afford a liquor grateful to the taste of the savage inhabitants.—*Gibbon.*

Of the small quantity of wine made anciently in Ægypt, some was carried to Rome; and, according to Maillet, was the third in esteem of their wines.—*T.*

145 *Fermented from barley.*]—See a Dissertation on Barley Wine, before alluded to, where, amongst a profusion of witty and humourous remarks, much real information is communicated on this subject.—*T.*

The most vulgar people make a sort of beer of barley, without being malted; they put something in it to make it intoxicate, and call it *bouzy*: they make it ferment; 'tis thick and sour, and will not keep longer than three or four days.—*Pococke.*

The invention of this liquor of barley is universally attributed to Osiris.—*T.*

An Englishman may in this place be excused, if he assert with some degree of pride, that the "wine of barley"

made

either ſalted [146] or dried in the ſun: they eat alſo quails [147], ducks, and ſome ſmaller birds, without other preparation than firſt ſalting them; but they roaſt and boil ſuch other birds and fiſhes as they have, excepting thoſe which are preſerved for ſacred purpoſes.

LXXVIII. At the entertainments of the rich, juſt as the company is about to riſe from the repaſt, a ſmall coffin is carried round, containing a perfect repreſentation of a dead body: it is in ſize ſometimes of one but never of more than two cubits, and as it is ſhewn to the gueſts in rotation, the bearer exclaims, "Caſt your eyes on this figure,

made in this country, or in other words Britiſh beer, is ſuperior to what is made in any other part of the world: the beer of Bremen is however deſervedly famous. It has been aſſerted by ſome, that our brewers throw dead dogs fleaed into the wort, and boil them till the fleſh is all conſumed. "Others," ſay the authors of the Encyclopædia Britannica, "more equitable, attribute the excellency of our beer to the quality of our malt and water, and ſkill of our brewers."—*T.*

[146] *Salted.*]—A diſtinction muſt here be obſerved betwixt ſea-ſalt and foſſil-ſalt: the Ægyptians abhorred the former, but made no ſcruple of uſing the latter.—*T.*

[147] *Quails.*]—"The quails of Ægypt are eſteemed a great delicacy, are of the ſize of a turtle dove, and called by Haſſelquiſt, Tetrao Iſraelitarum." A diſpute, however, has ariſen amongſt the learned, whether the food of the Iſraelites in the deſert was a bird; many ſuppoſe that they fed on locuſts. Their immenſe quantities ſeem to form an argument in favour of this latter opinion, not eaſily to be ſet aſide; to which may be added, that the Arabs at the preſent day eat locuſts when freſh, and eſteem them when ſalted a great delicacy.—*T.*

after

after death you yourſelf will reſemble it; drink then, and be happy."—Such are the cuſtoms they obſerve at entertainments.

LXXIX. They contentedly adhere to the cuſtoms of their anceſtors, and are averſe to foreign manners [148]. Among other things which claim our approbation, they have a ſong *, which is alſo uſed in

[148] *Averſe to foreign manners.*]—The attachment of the Ægyptians to their country has been a frequent ſubject of remark; it is nevertheleſs ſingular, that great numbers of them anciently lived as ſervants in other lands. Mr. Harmer obſerves, that Hagar was an Ægyptian, with many others; and that it will not be eaſy to pick out from the Old Teſtament accounts an equal number of ſervants of other countries, that lived in foreign lands mentioned there.—*T.*

* *They have a ſong.*]—Linus, ſays Diodorus Siculus, was the firſt inventor of melody amongſt the Greeks. We are told by Athenæus, that the ſtrain called Linus was very melancholy. Linus was ſuppoſed to have been the firſt lyric poet in Greece, and was the maſter of Orpheus, Thamyris, and Hercules.

Plutarch, from Heraclides of Pontus, mentions certain dirges as compoſed by Linus; his death gave riſe to a number of ſongs in honour of his memory: to theſe Homer is ſuppoſed to allude in the following lines:

> To theſe a youth awakes the warbling ſtrings,
> Whoſe tender lay the fate of Linus ſings;
> In meaſured dance behind him move the train,
> Tune ſoft the voice, and anſwer to the ſtrain.
>
> *Pope.*

Song in Greece is ſuppoſed to have preceded the uſe of letters.—Not only the Ægyptians, but the Hebrews, Arabians, Aſſyrians, Perſians, and Indians had their national ſongs.

in Phœnicia, Cyprus, and other places, where it is differently named. Of all the things which astonished me in Ægypt, nothing more perplexed me than my curiosity to know whence the Ægyptians learned this song, so entirely resembling the Linus of the Greeks; it is of the remotest antiquity among them, and they call it Maneros. They have a tradition that Maneros was the only son of their first monarch; and that having prematurely died, they instituted these melancholy strains in his honour, constituting their first and in earlier times their only song.

LXXX. The Ægyptians surpass all the Greeks, the Lacedæmonians excepted, in the reverence [149] which they pay to age: if a young person meet his senior,

Montaigne has preserved an original Caribbean song, which he does not hesitate to declare worthy of Anacreon.

"Oh, snake, stay; stay, O snake, that my sister may draw from the pattern of thy painted skin the fashion and work of a rich ribbon, which I mean to present to my mistress: so may thy beauty and thy disposition be preferred to all other serpents. Oh snake, stay!" *Ritson's Essay on National Song.*

[149] *Reverence, &c.*]—The following story is related by Valerius Maximus: An old Athenian going to the theatre, was not able to find a place amongst his countrymen; coming by accident where the ambassadors from Sparta were sitting, they all respectfully rose, and gave him the place of honour amongst them. The people were loud in their applause, which occasioned a Spartan to remark, that the Athenians were not ignorant of virtue, though they forbore to practise it.

Juvenal, reprobating the dissipation and profligacy of the times in which he lived, expresses himself thus:

Credebant

ſenior, he inſtantly turns aſide to make way for him; if a ſenior enter an apartment, the youth always riſe from their ſeats; this ceremony is obſerved by no other of the Greeks. When the Ægyptians meet they do not ſpeak, but make a profound reverence, bowing with the hand down to the knee.

LXXXI. Their habit, which they call calaſiris [150], is made of linen, and fringed at the bottom;

> Credebant hoc grande nefas et morte piandum
> Si juvenis vetulo non aſſurexerat, et ſi
> Barbato cuicunque puer.

As if the not paying a becoming reverence to age was the higheſt mark of degeneracy which could be ſhown.

Savary tells his readers, that the reverence here mentioned is at this day in Ægypt exhibited on every occaſion to thoſe advanced in years. Various modes of teſtifying reſpect are adopted amongſt different nations, but this of riſing from the ſeat ſeems to be in a manner inſtinctive, and to prevail every where.—*T.*

150 *Calaſiris.*]—This calaſiris they wore next the ſkin, and it ſeems to have ſerved them both for ſhirt and habit, it being the cuſtom of the Ægyptians to go lightly cloathed; it appears alſo to have been in uſe amongſt the Greeks.—See Montfaucon. Pococke, with other modern travellers, inform us that the dreſs of the Ægyptians ſeems to have undergone very little change; the moſt ſimple dreſs being only a long ſhirt with wide ſleeves, tied about the middle. When they performed any religious offices, we find from Herodotus, they were cloathed only in linen; and at this day when the Ægyptians enter a moſque they put on a white garment; which circumſtance, Pococke remarks, might probably give riſe to the uſe of the ſurplice. To this ſimplicity of dreſs in the men, it appears that the dreſs of the females, in coſtlineſs and magnificence, exhibits a ſtriking contraſt.—*T.*

over this they throw a kind of ſhawl made of white wool, but in theſe veſts of wool they are forbidden by their religion either to be buried or to enter any ſacred edifice; this is a peculiarity of thoſe ceremonies which are called Orphic [151] and Pythagorean [152]: whoever has been initiated in theſe myſteries can never be interred in a veſt of wool, for which a ſacred reaſon is aſſigned.

LXXXII. Of the Ægyptians it is further memorable, that they firſt imagined what month or day was to be conſecrated to each deity; they alſo

[151] *Orphic.*]—Thoſe initiated into Orpheus's myſteries were called Orpheoleleſtai, who aſſured all admitted into their ſociety of certain felicity after death: which when Philip, one of that order, but miſerably poor and indigent, boaſted of, Leotychidas the Spartan replied, "Why do you not die then, you fool, and put an end to your misfortunes together with your life?" At their initiation little elſe was required of them beſides an oath of ſecrecy.—*Potter.*

So little do we know about Orpheus, that Ariſtotle does not ſcruple to queſtion his exiſtence. The celebrated Orphic verſes cited by Juſtin are judged by Dr. Jortin to be forgeries.—*T.*

[152] *Pythagorean.*]—To be minute in our account of the ſchool of Pythagoras, would perhaps be trifling with the patience of ſome readers, whilſt to paſs it over without any notice might give offence to others. Born at Samos, he travelled to various countries, but Ægypt was the great ſource from which he derived his knowledge. On his return to his country, he was followed by numbers of his diſciples; from hence came a croud of legiſlators, philoſophers, and ſcholars, the pride of Greece. To the diſciples of Pythagoras the world is doubtleſs indebted for the diſcovery of numbers, of the principles of muſic, of phyſics, and of morals.—*T.*

from

from obſerving the days of nativity [153], venture to predict the particular circumſtances of a man's life and death: this is done by the poets of Greece, but the Ægyptians have certainly diſcovered more things that are wonderful than all the reſt of mankind. Whenever any unuſual circumſtance occurs, they commit the particulars to writing, and mark the events which follow it: if they afterwards obſerve any ſimilar incident, they conclude that the reſult will be ſimilar alſo.

LXXXIII. The art of divination [154] in Ægypt is confined to certain of their deities. There are in this country oracles of Hercules, of Apollo, of Minerva and Diana, of Mars, and of Jupiter; but the oracle of Latona at Butos is held in greater eſtimation than any of the reſt: the oracular communication is regulated by no fixed ſyſtem, but is differently obtained in different places.

153 *Days of nativity.*]—Many illuſtrious characters have in all ages and countries given way to this weakneſs; but that ſuch a man as Dryden ſhould place confidence in ſuch prognoſtications, cannot fail to impreſs the mind with conviction of the melancholy truth, that the moſt exalted talents are ſeldom without their portion of infirmity.

Caſting the nativity, or by calculation ſeeking to know how long the queen ſhould live, was made felony by act of the 23d of Elizabeth.

Sully alſo was marked by this weakneſs; and Richelieu and Mazarin kept an aſtrologer in pay.—See an ingenious Eſſay upon the Dæmon of Socrates.—*T.*

154 *Art of divination.*]—Of ſuch high importance was this art anciently eſteemed, that no military expedition was undertaken without the preſence of one or more of theſe diviners.

LXXXIV. The art of medicine[155] in Ægypt is thus exercifed: one phyfician is confined to the ftudy and management of one difeafe; there are of courfe a great number who practife this art; fome attend to diforders of the eyes, others to thofe of the head; fome take care of the teeth, others are converfant with all difeafes of the bowels; whilft many attend to the cure of maladies which are lefs confpicuous.

LXXXV. With refpect to their funerals and ceremonies of mourning; whenever a man of any importance dies, the females of his family[156], disfiguring

[155] *Art of medicine.*]—It is remarkable, with regard to medicine, that none of the fciences fooner arrived at perfection; for in the fpace of two thoufand years, elapfed fince the time of Hippocrates, there has fcarcely been added a new aphorifm to thofe of that great man, notwithftanding all the care and application of fo many ingenious men as have fince ftudied that fcience.—*Dutens.*

With refpect to the ftate of chirurgery amongft the ancients, a perufal of Homer alone will be fufficient to fatisfy every candid reader, that their knowledge and fkill was far from contemptible. Celfus gives an exact account and defcription of the operation for the ftone, which implies both a knowledge of anatomy, and fome degree of perfection in the art of inftrument-making.

The three qualities, fays Bayle, of a good phyfician, are probity, learning, and good fortune; and whoever perufes the oath which anciently every profeffor of medicine was obliged to take, muft both acknowledge its merit as a compofition, and admire the amiable difpofition which it inculcates.—*T.*

[156] *Females of his family.*]—"I was awakened before day-break by the fame troop of women; their difmal cries fuited very well with the lonely hour of the night. This mourning lafts for the

figuring their heads and faces with dirt, leave the corpſe in the houſe, and run publickly about, accompanied by their female relations, with their garments in diſorder, their breaſts expoſed, and beating themſelves ſeverely: the men on their parts do the ſame, after which the body is carried to the embalmers [157].

LXXXVI.

the ſpace of ſeven days, during which interval the female relations of the deceaſed make a tour through the town morning and night, beating their breaſts, throwing aſhes on their heads, and diſplaying every artificial token of ſorrow."—*Irwin.*

The aſſembling together of multitudes to the place where perſons have lately expired, and bewailing them in a noiſy manner, is a cuſtom ſtill retained in the Eaſt, and ſeems to be conſidered as an honour done to the deceaſed.—*Harmer.* This gentleman relates a curious circumſtance corroborative of the above, from the MS. of Chardin; ſee vol. ii. 136.

157 *Embalmers.*]—The following remarks on the ſubject of embalming are compiled from different writers.

The Jews embalmed their dead, but inſtead of embowelling, were contented with an external unction. The preſent way in Ægypt, according to Maillet, is to waſh the body repeatedly with roſe-water.

A modern Jew has made an objection to the hiſtory of the New Teſtament, that the quantity of ſpices uſed by Joſeph and Nicodemus on the body of Chriſt, was enough for two hundred dead bodies.

Diodorus Siculus is very minute on this ſubject: after deſcribing the expence and ceremony of embalming, he adds, that the relations of the deceaſed, till the body was buried, uſed neither the baths, wine, delicate food, nor fine cloaths.

In the Philoſophical Tranſactions for 1764, a particular account is given of the examination of a mummy.

Diodorus Siculus deſcribes three methods of embalming, with the firſt of which our author does not appear to have been acquainted.

LXXXVI. There are certain perſons legally appointed to the exerciſe of this profeſſion. When a dead body is brought them, they exhibit to the friends of the deceaſed different models highly finiſhed in wood. The moſt perfect of theſe they ſay reſembles one whom I do not think it religious to name in ſuch a matter; the ſecond is of leſs price, and inferior in point of execution; another is ſtill more mean; they then enquire after which model the deceaſed ſhall be repreſented: when the price is determined, the relations retire, and the embalmers thus proced:—In the moſt perfect ſpecimens of their art, they draw the brain through the noſtrils, partly with a piece of crooked iron, and partly by the infuſion of drugs; they then with an Ethiopian ſtone make an inciſion in the ſide, through which they extract the inteſtines [158]; theſe they

acquainted. The form and appearance of the whole body was ſo well preſerved, that the deceaſed might be known by their features.

The Romans had the art of embalming as well as the Ægyptians; and if what is related of them be true, this art had arrived to greater perfection in Rome than in Ægypt.—*See Montfaucon.* A modern author remarks, that the numberleſs mummies which ſtill endure, after ſo long a courſe of ages, ought to aſcertain to the Ægyptians the glory of having carried chymiſtry to a degree of perfection attained but by few. Some moderns have attempted by certain preparations to preſerve dead bodies entire, but to no purpoſe.—*T.*

[158] *Inteſtines.*]—Porphyry informs us what afterwards becomes of theſe: they are put into a cheſt, and one of the embalmers makes a prayer for the deceaſed, addreſſed to the ſun, the purport of which is to ſignify that if the conduct of the deceaſed

they cleanſe thoroughly, waſhing them with palm-wine, and afterwards covering them with pounded aromatics: they then fill the body with powder of pure myrrh[159], caſia, and other perfumes, except frankincenſe. Having ſown up the body, it is covered with nitre[160] for the ſpace of ſeventy days[161], which time they may not exceed; at the end of this period it is waſhed, cloſely wrapped in bandages of cotton[162], dipped in a gum[163] which the Ægyptians uſe as glue: it is then returned to the relations, who encloſe the body in a caſe of wood, made to reſemble an human figure, and place it

ceaſed has during his life been at all criminal, it muſt have been on account of theſe; the embalmer then points to the cheſt, which is afterwards thrown into the river.—*T.*

[159] *Myrrh, &c.*]—Inſtead of myrrh and caſia, the Jews in embalming uſed myrrh and aloes.—*T.*

[160] *Nitre.*]—Larcher ſays, this was not of the nature of our nitre, but a fixed alkaline ſalt.

[161] *Seventy days.*]—"If the nitre or natrum had been ſuffered," ſays Larcher, "to remain for a longer period, it would have attacked the ſolid or fibrous parts, and diſſolved them; if it had been a neutral ſalt, like our nitre, this precaution would not have been neceſſary."

[162] *Cotton.*]—By the byſſus cotton ſeems clearly to be meant, "which," ſays Larcher, "was probably conſecrated by their religion to the purpoſe of embalming." Mr. Greaves aſſerts, that theſe bandages in which the mummies were involved were of linen; but he appears to be miſtaken. There are two ſpecies of this plant, annual and perennial, it was the latter which was cultivated in Ægypt.

[163] *Gum.*]—This was gum arabic. Pococke ſays it is produced from the acacia, which is very common in Ægypt, the ſame as the acacia, called *cyale* in Arabia Petræa: in Ægypt it is called *ſount.*

againſt

against the wall in the repository of their dead. The above is the most costly mode of embalming.

LXXXVII. They who wish to be less expensive, adopt the following method: they neither draw out the intestines, nor make any incision in the dead body, but inject an unguent made from the cedar; after taking proper means to secure the injected oil within the body, it is covered with nitre for the time above specified [164]: on the last day they withdraw the liquor before introduced, which brings with it all the bowels and intestines; the nitre eats away the flesh, and the skin and bones only remain: the body is returned in this state, and no further care taken concerning it.

LXXXVIII. There is a third mode of embalming appropriated to the poor. A particular kind of ablution [165] is made to pass through the body, which

164 *Time above specified.*]—According to Irwin, the time of mourning of the modern Ægyptians is only seven days: the Jews in the time of Moses mourned thirty days. The mourning for Jacob, we find from Genesis, chap. l. 3. was the time here prescribed for the process of embalming; but how are we to explain the preceding verses?

"And Joseph commanded his servants the physicians, to embalm his father, and the physicians embalmed Israel.

"And forty days were fulfilled for him; (for so are fulfilled the days of those which are embalmed) and the Ægyptians mourned for him threescore and ten days."—*T.*

165 *Ablution.*]—The particular name of this ablution is in the original *surmaia*, some believe it a composition of salt and water; the word occurs again in chap. cxxv. where it signifies a radish.—*T.*

is afterwards left in nitre for the above seventy days, and then returned.

LXXXIX. The wives of men of rank, and such females as have been distinguished by their beauty or importance, are not immediately on their decease delivered to the embalmers: they are usually kept for three or four days, which is done to prevent any indecency being offered to their persons. An instance once occurred of an embalmer's gratifying his lust on the body of a female lately dead: the crime was divulged by a fellow artist.

XC. If an Ægyptian or a foreigner be found, either destroyed by a crocodile or drowned in the water, the city nearest which the body is discovered, is obliged to embalm and pay it every respectful attention, and afterwards deposit it in some consecrated place: no friend or relation is suffered to interfere, the whole process is conducted by the priests of the Nile [166], who bury it themselves with a respect

to

[166] *Priests of the Nile.*]—That the Nile was esteemed and worshipped as a god, having cities, priests, festivals, and sacrifices consecrated to it, is sufficiently evident.—"No god," says Plutarch, "is more solemnly worshipped than the Nile."—"The grand festival of the Nile," says Heliodorus, "was the most solemn festival of the Ægyptians: they regard him as the rival of heaven, since without clouds or rain he waters the lands."

The memory of these ancient superstitions is still preserved, and is seen in the great pomp with which the canal of Grand Cairo is opened every year. It appears also from the representations of modern travellers, that the Ægyptian women bathe

in

to which a lifeless corpse would hardly seem entitled.

XCI. To the customs of Greece they express aversion, and to say the truth to those of all other nations. This remark applies, with only one exception, to every part of Ægypt. Chemmis [167] is a place of considerable note in the Thebaid, it is near Neapolis, and remarkable for a temple of Perseus [168] the son of Danae. This temple is of a square

in the Nile at the time of its beginning to rise, to express their veneration for the benefits it confers on their country. Irwin tells us, that a sacred procession along the banks of the Nile is annually made by women on the first visible rise of the river. —*T.*

[167] *Chemmis.*]—The Ægyptians called this place Chemmo. Chemmis seems to be a Greek termination; it is the same place with Panopolis. Plutarch informs us, that Pans and Satyrs once dwelt near Chemmis, which tradition probably arose from the circumstance of the worship of Pan commencing first in this place.—*Larcher.*

I suppose Akmim to have been Panopolis, famous of old for workers in stone, and for the linen manufactures; at present they make coarse cotton here. It appears plainly from Diodorus, that this place is what was called Chemmis by Herodotus. It is now the place of residence of the prince of Akmim, who has the title of emir or prince, and is as a sheik of the country.—*Pococke.*

[168] *Perseus*]—was one of the most ancient heroes in the mythology of Greece. The history of Perseus came apparently from Ægypt. Herodotus more truly represents him as an Assyrian, by which is meant a Babylonian (book vi. 54.) He resided in Ægypt, and is said to have reigned at Memphis. To say the truth, he was worshipped there, for Perseus was a title of

ſquare figure, and ſurrounded with palm-trees. The veſtibule, which is very ſpacious, is conſtructed of ſtone, and on the ſummit are placed two large marble ſtatues. Within the conſecrated incloſure ſtand the ſhrine and ſtatue of Perſeus, who, as the inhabitants affirm, often appears in the country and the temple. They ſometimes find one of his ſandals, which are of the length of two cubits, and whenever this happens, fertility reigns throughout Ægypt. Public games, after the manner of the Greeks, are celebrated in his honour. Upon this occaſion they have every variety of gymnaſtic exerciſe. The rewards of the conquerors are cattle, veſts, and ſkins [169]. I was once induced to enquire why

of the deity. Perſeus was no other than the ſun, the chief god of the Gentile world. On this account he had a temple at Chemmis, Memphis, and in other parts of Ægypt. His true name was Perez or Parez, rendered Pereſis, Perſes, and Perſeus; and in the account given of this perſonage we have the hiſtory of the Pereſians, Parrhaſians, and Perezites, in their ſeveral peregrinations.—*Bryant.*

[169] *Skins.*]—To prove that ſkins were in ancient times diſtributed as prizes at games, Weſſeling quotes the following lines from Homer:

—— οὐχ ἱερήιον, οὐδὲ ΒΟΕΙΗΝ
Ἀρνύσθην ἅτε ποσσὶν ἀέθλια γίγνεται ἀνδρῶν,

which literally means, "They did not attempt to gain a victim or the *ſkin of an ox*, the prize of the racers."

Which Pope, entirely omitting the more material circumſtance of the ſentence, very erroneouſly renders thus:

why Perseus made his appearance to them alone, and why they were distinguished from the rest of Ægypt by the celebration of gymnastic exercises [170]? They informed me in return, that Perseus was a native of their country, as were also Danaus and Lynceus, who made a voyage into Greece, and from whom, in regular succession, they related how Perseus was descended. This hero visited Ægypt for the purpose, as the Greeks also affirm, of carrying from Africa the Gorgon's head [171]. Happening to come among them, he saw and was known to his

No vulgar prize they play,
No vulgar victim must reward the day,
(Such as in races crown the speedy strife.)—*T.*

170 *Gymnastic exercises.*]—These were five in number. They began with the foot-race, which was the most ancient. The second was leaping with weights in the hand; and mention is made in Pausanias, of a man who leaped fifty-two feet. The third was wrestling: the victor was required to throw his adversary three times. The fourth was the disk; and the fifth boxing. This last was sometimes with the naked fist, and sometimes with the cæstus.—*T.*

171 *Gorgon's head.*]—The Gorgons were three in number, sisters, the daughters of Phorcys, a sea-god, and Ceto, of whom Medusa was the chief, or according to some authors the only one who was mortal. Her story is this: Independent of her other accomplishments, her golden hair was so very beautiful, that it captivated the god Neptune, who enjoyed her person in the temple of Minerva. The goddess in anger changed her hair into snakes, the sight of which transformed the spectators into stones. From the union of Medusa with Neptune Pegasus was born; but after that, no one with impunity could look at Medusa. Perseus, borrowing the wings of Mercury, and the shield of

his relations. The name of Chemmis he had previoufly known from his mother, and himfelf inftituted the games which they continued to celebrate.

XCII. Thefe which I have defcribed, are the manners of thofe Ægyptians who live in the higher parts of the country. They who inhabit the marfhy grounds differ in no material inftance. Like the Greeks, they confine themfelves to one wife [172]. To procure themfelves

of Minerva, came fuddenly upon her when fhe and her fnakes were afleep, and cut off her head.

But in every circumftance of the mythology of the Gorgons, there is great difagreement in different ancient authors: according to fome the blood of Medufa alone produced Pegafus.

The head of Medufa frequently exercifed the fkill of the more ancient artifts, who, notwithftanding what is mentioned above, fometimes reprefented it as exceedingly beautiful.

The following defcription of the daughters of Phorcys, and of the Gorgons, I give from the Prometheus Vinctus of Æfchylus, in the animated verfion of Potter:

Thou fhalt come to the Gorgonian plains
Of Cifthine, where dwell the fwan-like forms
Of Phorcys' daughters, bent and white with age;
One common eye have thefe, one common tooth,
And never does the fun with chearful ray
Vifit them darkling, nor the moon's pale orb
That filvers o'er the night. The Gorgons nigh,
Their fifters, thefe fpread their broad wings, and wreath
Their horrid hair with ferpents, fiends abhorr'd,
Whom never mortal could behold and live. *T.*

172 *To one wife.*]—Modern travellers inform us, that although the Mahometan law allows every man to have four wives, many are fatisfied with one.

themselves more easily the means of sustenance, they make use of the following expedient: when the waters have risen to their extremest height, and all their fields are overflowed, there appears above the surface an immense quantity of plants of the lily species, which the Ægyptians call the lotos [173]: these

"The equality in the number of males and females born into the world intimates," says Mr. Paley, "the intention of God, that one woman should be assigned to one man."

"From the practice of polygamy permitted amongst the Turks," says Volney, "the men are enervated very early; and nothing is more common than to hear men of thirty complaining of impotence. But still it is no new remark, that the conversion of infidels is retarded by the prohibition of more wives than one."

That the Greeks did not always confine themselves to one wife we learn from certain authority. Euripides was known to be a woman-hater, "but," says Hume, "it was because he was coupled to two noisy vixens." The reader will find many ingenious remarks and acute reasonings in Hume's 19th Essay on polygamy and divorces.—*T.*

[173] *Lotos.*]—The lotus is an aquatic plant peculiar to Ægypt, which grows in rivulets, and by the side of lakes. There are two species, the one bearing a white, the other a blueish flower. The root of the first species is round, resembling a potatoe, and is eaten by the inhabitants who live near the lake Menzala.—*Savary.*

The lotus is of the lily species. We find this singular remark in the Mémoire sur Venus:—"Le lys étoit odieux à Venus parce qu'il lui disputoit la beauté. Aussi pour s'en venger fit-elle croître au milieu de ses petales le membre de l'âne." The above is translated from the Alexipharmaca of Nicander.—*T.*

The byblus or papyrus the ancients converted to a great variety of uses, for particulars of which consult Pliny and Strabo. It

these having cut down, they dry in the ſun. The ſeed of the flower, which reſembles that of the poppy, they bake, and make into a kind of bread; they alſo eat the root of this plant, which is round, of an agreeable flavour, and about the ſize of an apple. There is a ſecond ſpecies of the lotos, which grows in the Nile, and which is not unlike a roſe. The fruit, which grows from the bottom of the root, reſembles a waſp's neſt: it is found to contain a number of kernels of the ſize of an olive-ſtone, which are very grateful, either freſh or dried. Of the byblus, which is an annual plant, after taking it from a marſhy place, where it grows, they cut off the tops, and apply them to various uſes. They eat or ſell what remains, which is nearly a cubit in length. To make this a ſtill greater delicacy, there are many who previouſly roaſt it. With a conſiderable part of this people fiſh conſtitutes the principal article of food; they dry it in the ſun, and eat it without other preparation.

XCIII. Thoſe fiſhes which are gregarious ſeldom multiply in the Nile, they uſually propagate

It is a ruſh, and grows to the height of eight or nine feet; it is now very ſcarce in Ægypt, for Haſſelquiſt makes no mention of it. The uſe of the papyrus for books was not found out till after the building of Alexandria. As anciently books were rolled up, the nature of the papyrus made it very convenient for this purpoſe. They wrote upon the inner ſkins of the ſtalk. From papyrus comes our Engliſh word paper.—*T.*

in the lakes. At the ſeaſon of ſpawning they move in vaſt multitudes towards the ſea; the males lead the way, and emit the ingendering principle in their paſſage; this the females abſorb as they follow, and in conſequence conceive. As ſoon as the ſeminal matter has had its proper operation, they leave the ſea, return up the river, and endeavour to regain their accuſtomed haunts. The mode, however, of their paſſage is reverſed, the females lead the way, whilſt the males follow. The females do now what the males did before, they drop their ſpawn, reſembling ſmall grains of millet, which the males eagerly devour. Every particle of this contains a ſmall fiſh, and each which eſcapes the males regularly encreaſes till it becomes a fiſh. Of theſe fiſh, ſuch as are taken in their paſſage towards the ſea are obſerved to have the left part of their heads depreſſed, which on their return is obſerved of their right. The cauſe of this is obvious: as they paſs to the ſea they rub themſelves againſt the banks on the left ſide; as they return they keep cloſely to the ſame bank, and in both inſtances preſs againſt it, that they may not be obliged to deviate from their courſe by the current of the ſtream. As the Nile gradually riſes, the water firſt fills thoſe cavities of the land which are neareſt the river. As ſoon as ever theſe are ſaturated, an abundance of ſmall fry may be diſcovered. The cauſe of their increaſe may perhaps be thus explained: when the Nile ebbs, the fiſh, who in the preceding ſeaſon had depoſited their ſpawn in the mud, retreat reluctantly with the ſtream; but at the proper

ſeaſon, when the river flows, this ſpawn is matured into fiſh.

XCIV. The inhabitants of the marſhy grounds make uſe of an oil, which they term the kiki, expreſſed from the Sillicyprian plant. In Greece this plant ſprings ſpontaneouſly without any cultivation, but the Ægyptians ſow it on the banks of the river, and of the canals; it there produces fruit in great abundance, but of a very ſtrong odour: when gathered they obtain from it, either by friction or preſſure, an unctuous liquid, which diffuſes an offenſive ſmell, but for burning is equal in quality to the oil of olives.

XCV. The Ægyptians are provided with a remedy againſt gnats, of which there are a ſurprizing number. As the wind will not ſuffer theſe inſects to riſe far from the ground, the inhabitants of the higher part of the country uſually ſleep in turrets. They who live in the marſhy grounds uſe this ſubſtitute: each perſon has a net, with which they fiſh by day, and which they render uſeful by night. They cover their beds with their nets, and ſleep ſecurely beneath them. If they ſlept in their common habits, or under linen, the gnats would not fail to torment them, which they do not even attempt through a net.

XCVI. Their veſſels of burden are conſtructed of a ſpecies of thorn, which reſembles the lotos of Cyrene, and which diſtils a gum. From this thorn

they cut planks about two cubits ſquare: after diſpoſing theſe in the form of bricks, and ſecuring them ſtrongly together, they place from ſide to ſide benches for the rowers. They do not uſe timber artificially carved, but force the planks together with the bark of the byblus made into ropes. They have one rudder, which goes through the keel of the veſſel; their maſt is made of the ſame thorn, and the ſails are formed from the byblus. Theſe veſſels are haled along by land, for unleſs the wind be very favourable they can make no way againſt the ſtream. When they go with the current, they throw from the head of the veſſel a hurdle made of tamariſk, faſtened together with reeds; they have alſo a perforated ſtone of the weight of two talents, this is let fall at the ſtern, ſecured by a rope. The name of this kind of bark is baris [174], which the above hurdle, impelled by the tide, draws ſwiftly along. The ſtone at the ſtern regulates its motion. They have immenſe numbers of theſe veſſels, and ſome of them of the burden of many thouſand talents.

XCVII. During the inundation of the Nile, the

[174] *Baris.*]—Part of the ceremony in moſt of the ancient myſteries conſiſted in carrying about a kind of ſhip or boat; which cuſtom, upon due examination, will be found to relate to nothing elſe but Noah and the deluge. The ſhip of Iſis is well known. The name of this, and of all the navicular ſhrines, was Baris; which is very remarkable, for it was the very name of the mountain, according to Nicolas Damaſcenus, on which the ark of Noah reſted.—*Bryant.*

cities

cities only are left conſpicuous, appearing above the waters like the iſlands of the Ægean ſea. As long as the flood continues, veſſels do not confine themſelves to the channel of the river, but traverſe the fields and the plains. They who then go from Naucratis to Memphis, paſs by the pyramids; this, however, is not the uſual courſe, which lies through the point of the Delta, and the city of Cercaſorus. If from the ſea and the town of Canopus, the traveller deſires to go by the plains to Naucratis, he muſt paſs by Anthilla [175] and Archandros.

XCVIII. Of theſe places Anthilla is the moſt conſiderable: whoever may be ſovereign of Ægypt, it is aſſigned perpetually as part of the revenues of the queens, and appropriated to the particular purpoſe of providing them with ſandals; this has been obſerved ever ſince Ægypt was tributary to Perſia. I ſhould ſuppoſe that the other city derives its name from Archander, the ſon of Pthius, ſon-in-law of Danaus, and grandſon of Achæus. There may probably have been ſome other Archander, for the name is certainly not Ægyptian.

XCIX. All that I have hitherto aſſerted has been the reſult of my own perſonal remarks and diligent enquiry. I ſhall now proceed to relate what I learned

175 *Anthilla*]—was probably the ſame place with Gynæcopolis; the ſuperior excellence of its wine made it in after-times celebrated.—*Larcher*.

from

from converſing with Ægyptians, to which I ſhall occaſionally add what I myſelf have witneſſed.— Menes, the firſt ſovereign of Ægypt, as I was informed by the prieſts, effectually detached the ground on which Memphis [176] ſtands from the water. Before his

[176] *Memphis.*]—Authors are exceedingly divided about the ſite of ancient Memphis. The opinions of a few of the more eminent are ſubjoined.

Diodorus Siculus differs from Herodotus with regard to the founder. "Uchoreus," ſays he, "built the city Memphis, which is the moſt illuſtrious of all the cities of Ægypt."

"It is very extraordinary," obſerves Pococke, "that the ſituation of Memphis ſhould not be well known, which was ſo great and famous a city, and for ſo long a time the capital of Ægypt." See what this writer ſays farther on the ſubject, vol. i. 39.

Beſides the temple of Vulcan, here mentioned, Memphis was famous for a temple of Venus.

"Is it not aſtoniſhing," remarks Savary, "that the ſite of the ancient metropolis of Ægypt, a city near ſeven leagues in circumference, containing magnificent temples and palaces, which art laboured to render eternal, ſhould at preſent be a ſubject of diſpute amongſt the learned. Pliny," continues Savary, "removes the difficulty paſt doubt. The three grand pyramids ſeen by the watermen from all parts ſtand on a barren and rocky hill, between Memphis and the Delta, one league from the Nile, two from Memphis, and near the village of Buſiris."

Mr. Gibbon does not ſpeak of the ſituation of ancient Memphis with his uſual accuracy and deciſion.

"On the weſtern ſide of the Nile, at a ſmall diſtance to the eaſt of the pyramids, at a ſmall diſtance to the ſouth of the Delta, Memphis, one hundred and fifty furlongs in circumference, diſplayed the magnificence of ancient kings."

D'Anville, the moſt accurate of all geographers, places it fifteen miles above the point of the Delta, which he ſays correſponds exactly with the meaſurement of three ſchæni.—*T.*

time

time the river flowed entirely along the ſandy mountain on the ſide of Africa. But this prince, by conſtructing a bank at the diſtance of a hundred ſtadia from Memphis, towards the ſouth, diverted the courſe of the Nile[177], and led it, by means of a new canal, through the centre of the mountains. And even at the preſent period, under the dominion of the Perſians, this artificial channel is annually repaired, and regularly defended. If the river were here once to break its banks, the town of Memphis would be inevitably ruined. It was the ſame Menes who, upon the ſolid ground thus reſcued from the water, firſt built the town now known by the name of Memphis, which is ſituate in the narroweſt part of Ægypt. To the north and the weſt of Memphis he alſo ſunk a lake, communicating with the river, which, from the ſituation of the Nile, it was not poſſible to effect towards the eaſt. He moreover erected on the ſame ſpot a magnificent temple in honour of Vulcan.

C. The prieſts afterwards recited to me from a book the names of three hundred and thirty ſovereigns (ſucceſſors of Menes); in this continued ſeries

[177] *Diverted the courſe of the Nile.*]—The courſe of this ancient bed is not unknown at preſent: it may be traced acroſs the deſert, paſſing weſt of the lakes of Natroun, by petrified wood, maſts, and lateen yards, the wrecks of veſſels by which it was anciently navigated.—*Savary.*

eighteen

eighteen were Æthiopians [178], and one a female native of the country, all the reſt were men and Ægyptians. The female was called Nitocris, which was alſo the name of the Babylonian princeſs. They affirm that the Ægyptians having ſlain her brother, who was their ſovereign, ſhe was appointed his ſucceſſor; and that afterwards, to avenge his death, ſhe deſtroyed by artifice a great number of Ægyptians. By her orders a large ſubterraneous apartment was conſtructed, profeſſedly for feſtivals, but in reality for a different purpoſe. She invited to this place a great number of thoſe Ægyptians whom ſhe knew to be the principal inſtruments of her brother's death, and then by a private canal introduced the river amongſt them. They added, that to avoid the indignation of the people, ſhe ſuffocated herſelf in an apartment filled with aſhes.

CI. None of theſe monarchs, as my informers related, were diſtinguiſhed by any acts of magnificence or renown, except Mœris, who was the laſt of them. Of this prince various monuments remain. He built the north entrance of the temple of Vulcan, and ſunk a lake, the dimenſions of which I ſhall hereafter deſcribe. Near this he alſo erected pyramids, whoſe magnitude, when I ſpeak of the lake, I ſhall particularize. Theſe are laſting monuments of his fame; but as none of the preceding

[178] *Eighteen were Æthiopians.*]—Theſe eighteen Æthiopian princes prove that the throne was not always hereditary in Ægypt.—*Larcher.*

princes

princes performed any thing memorable, I shall pass them by in silence.

CII. The name of Sesostris [179], who lived after them, claims our attention. According to the priests, he was the first who, passing the Arabian gulph in a fleet of long vessels, reduced under his authority the inhabitants bordering on the Red Sea. He proceeded yet farther, till he came to a sea, which on account of the number of shoals was not navigable. On his return to Ægypt, as I learned from the same authority, he levied a mighty army, and made a martial progress by land, subduing all the nations whom he met with on his march. Whenever he was opposed by a people who proved themselves brave, and who discovered an ardour for liberty, he erected columns in their country, upon which he inscribed his name, and that of his nation, and how he had here conquered by the force of his arms; but where he met with little or no opposition, upon similar columns [180] which he erected,

[179] *Sesostris.*]—See Bouhier's Chronological Account of the Kings of Ægypt from Mœris to Cambyses, according to which Mœris died in the year of the world 3360, and was succeeded by Sesostris in 3361.

Diodorus Siculus makes this prince posterior to Mœris by seven generations; but, as Larcher justly observes, this writer cannot be entitled to an equal degree of credit with Herodotus. Sesostris has been differently named: Tacitus calls him Rhampses; Scaliger, both Rhamesses and Ægyptus. He is named Sesostris in Diodorus Siculus; Sesosis in Pliny, &c.—*T.*

[180] *Upon similar columns, &c.*]—Diodorus Siculus relates the same facts, with this addition, that upon the columns intended

ed, he added the private parts of a woman, expressive of the pusillanimity of the people.

CIII. Continuing his progress, he passed over from Asia to Europe, and subdued the countries of Scythia and Thrace [181]. Here I believe he stopped, for monuments of his victory are discovered thus far, but no farther. On his return he came to the river Phasis; but I am by no means certain whether he left [182] a detachment of his forces as a colony in this district, or whether some of his men, fatigued with their laborious service, remained here of their own accord.

tended to commemorate the bravery of the vanquished, Sesostris added the private parts of a man.—*T.*

Nous ignorons si les Hermès caracterisés par la nature feminine, et erigés par Sesostris dans les pays qu'il avoit conquis sans resistance, avoient été figurés de la même maniere; ou si, pour indiquer le sexe, ils avoient *un triangle*, par lequel les Ægyptiens avoient coûtume de le désigner.—*Winkelmann.*

181 *Thrace.*]—According to another tradition preserved in Valerius Flaccus, the Getæ, the bravest and most upright of the Thracians, vanquished Sesostris; and it was doubtless to secure his retreat, that he left a detachment of his troops in Colchis.

Cunabula gentis
Colchidos hic ortusque tuens: ut prima Sesostris
Intulerit rex bella Getis: ut clade suorum
Territus hos Thebas, patriumque reducat ad amnem
Phasilos hos imperat agnis, Colchosque vocari
Imperet.— *Larcher.*

182 *Whether he left, &c.*]—Pliny assures us, though I know not on what authority, that Sesostris was defeated by the Colchians.—*Larcher.*

CIV. The Colchians certainly appear to be of Ægyptian origin; which indeed, before I had conversed with any one on the subject, I had always believed. But as I was desirous of being satisfied, I interrogated the people of both countries: the result was, that the Colchians seemed to have better remembrance of the Ægyptians, than the Ægyptians of the Colchians. The Ægyptians were of opinion that the Colchians were descended of part of the troops of Sesostris. To this I myself was also inclined, because they are black, and have hair short and curling [183], which latter circumstance may not, however, be insisted upon as evidence, because it is common to many other nations. But a second and better argument is, that the inhabitants of Colchos, Ægypt, and Æthiopia, are the only people who from time immemorial have used circumcision. The Phœnicians and the Syrians of Palestine [184] acknowledge that they borrowed this custom

[183] *Hair short and curling.*]—"That is," says Volney, in his remark on this passage, "that the ancient Ægyptians were real negroes, of the same species with all the natives of Africa; and though, as might be expected, after mixing for so many ages with the Greeks and Romans, they have lost the intensity of their first colour, yet they still retain strong marks of their original conformation."

[184] *Syrians of Palestine.*]—Mr. Gibbon takes the opportunity of this passage to make it appear, that under the Assyrian and Persian monarchies, the Jews languished for many ages the most despised portion of their slaves. "Herodotus," says the English historian, "who visited Asia whilst it obeyed the Persian empire, slightly mentions the Jews of Palestine." But this seems to be a partial quotation; for taking into consideration the whole of the context,

cuſtom from Ægypt. Thoſe Syrians who live near the rivers Thermodon and Parthenius, and their neighbours the Macrones, confeſs that they learned it, and that too recently, from the Colchians. Theſe are the only people who uſe circumciſion, and who uſe it preciſely like the Ægyptians. As this practice can be traced both in Ægypt and Æthiopia to the remoteſt antiquity, it is not poſſible to ſay which firſt introduced it. The Ægyptians certainly communicated it to the other nations by means of their commercial intercourſe. The Phœnicians, who are connected with Greece, do not any longer imitate the Ægyptians in this particular, their male children not being circumciſed.

CV. But the Colchians have another mark of reſemblance to the Ægyptians. Their manufacture of linen [185] is alike, and peculiar to thoſe two nations; they have ſimilar manners, and the ſame language. The linen which comes from Colchis the Greeks call Sardonian [186]; the linen of Ægypt, Ægyptian.

CVI.

context, Herodotus ſeems precluded from mentioning the Syrians of Paleſtine in this place otherwiſe than ſlightly.—*T.*

185 *Manufacture of linen.*]—See chapter xxxii. of this book. —*T.*

186 *Sardonian.*]—In the original, for Σαρδονικον, Larcher recommends the reading of Σαρδιανικον, which he juſtifies by ſaying that Sardis was a far more proper and convenient market for this kind of linen than Sardinia.

This latter country in ancient times had the character of being remarkably unhealthy. "Remember," ſays Cicero, writing to his

CVI. The greater part of the pillars which Sesostris erected in the places which he conquered are no longer to be found. Some of them I myself have seen in Palestine of Syria, with the private members of a woman, and the inscriptions which I have before mentioned. In Ionia there are two figures of this king formed out of a rock; one is in the way from Ephesus to Phocæa, the other betwixt Sardis and Smyrna. Both of them represent a man, five palms in height; the right-hand holds a javelin, the left a bow; the rest of his armour is partly Ægyptian and partly Æthiopian. Across his breast, from shoulder to shoulder, there is this inscription in the sacred characters of Ægypt, "I

his brother, "though in perfect health, you are in Sardinia." Martial also

> Nullo fata loco possis excludere, cum mors
> Venerit, in medio Tibure, Sardinia est.

This country also gave rise to many peculiar phrases: Sardi venales, Risus Sardonicus, Sardonia tinctura, &c. The first is differently explained; Cicero, applying it to Gracchus, who after the capture of Sardinia wasted much time in selling his prisoners, makes it to signify any matter tediously protracted. Others, applying it to the Asiatic Sardis, make it signify persons who are venal. The Sardonic laugh is that beneath which the severest uneasiness is concealed. "Sardinia," says Solinus, "produces a herb which has this singular property, that whilst it destroys whoever eats it, it so contracts the features, and in particular of the mouth, into a grin, as to make the sufferer appear to die laughing." Of this herb Solinus relates other strange properties. Sardinia was also famous for a very beautiful colour, whence Sardonia tinctura was made to signify a modest blush. See Pliny, Solinus, Hoffman, &c.—*T.*

conquered this country by the force of my arms." Who the perfon is, here reprefented, or of what country, are not fpecified, both are told elfewhere. Some have been induced, on examination, to pronounce this the figure of Memnon, but they muft certainly be miftaken.

CVII. The fame priefts informed me that Sefoftris returned to Ægypt with an immenfe number of captives of the different nations which he had conquered. On his arrival at the Pelufian Daphne, his brother, to whom he had confided the government in his abfence, invited him and his family to take up their abode with him; which, when they had done, he furrounded their apartments with combuftibles, and fet fire to the building [187]. As foon as Sefoftris difcovered the villainy, he deliberated with his wife, who happened to be with him, what meafures to purfue; fhe advifed him to place two of their fix children acrofs the parts which were burning, that they might ferve as a bridge for the prefervation of themfelves and of the reft. This Sefoftris executed: two of the children confequently perifhed, the remainder were faved with their father.

[187] *Set fire to the building.*]—Diodorus Siculus relates the matter differently. The brother of Sefoftris made him and his attendants drunk, and in the night fet fire to his apartment. The guards being intoxicated, were unable to affift their mafter; but Sefoftris, imploring the interpofition of the gods, fortunately efcaped. He expreffed his gratitude to the deities in general, and to Vulcan in particular, to whofe kindnefs principally he thought himfelf indebted.—*T.*

CVIII. Sesostris did not omit to avenge himself on his brother: on his return to Ægypt, he employed the captives of the different nations he had vanquished to collect those immense stones which were employed in the temple of Vulcan. They were also compelled to make those vast and numerous canals [188] by which Ægypt is intersected. In consequence of their involuntary labours, Ægypt, which was before conveniently adapted to those who travelled on horseback or in carriages, became unfit for both. The canals occur so often, and in so many winding directions, that to journey on horseback is disagreeable, in carriages impossible. The prince however was influenced by a patriotic motive: before his time those who

[188] *Numerous canals.*]—Probably one reason why Sesostris opened canals, was to prevent these hurtful inundations, as well as to convey water to those places where they might think proper to have villages built, and to water the lands more conveniently, at such times as the waters might retire early; for they might find by experience, after the canals were opened, that instead of apprehending inundations, they had greater reason, as at present, to fear a want of water.—*Pococke.*

There are still eighty canals in Ægypt like rivers, several of which are twenty, thirty, and forty leagues in length.—*Savary.*

The same author adds, that the chain-buckets used in Ægypt to disperse the water over the high lands gave to Archimedes, during his voyage in Ægypt, the idea of his ingenious screw, which is still in use.

A country where nothing is so seldom met with as a spring, and where rain is an extraordinary phænomenon, could only have been fertilized by the Nile. Accordingly from times of the most remote antiquity, fourscore considerable canals were digged at the entrance of the kingdom, beside a great number of small ones, which distributed these waters all over Ægypt.—*Raynal.*

 inhabited

inhabited the inland parts of the country, at a diſtance from the river, on the ebbing of the Nile ſuffered great diſtreſs from the want of water, of which they had none but from muddy wells.

CIX. The ſame authority informed me, that Seſoſtris made a regular diſtribution of the lands of Ægypt. He aſſigned to each Ægyptian a ſquare piece of ground; and his revenues were drawn from the rent which every individual annually paid him. Whoever was a ſufferer by the inundation of the Nile, was permitted to make the king acquainted with his loſs. Certain officers were appointed to enquire into the particulars of the injury, that no man might be taxed beyond his ability. It may not be improbable to ſuppoſe that this was the origin of geometry [189], and that the Greeks learned it from hence. As to the pole, the gnomon [190], and the diviſion

[189] *Origin of geometry.*]—The natives of Thebes, above all others, were renowned for their great wiſdom. Their improvements in geometry are thought to have been owing to the nature of their country; for the land of Ægypt being annually overflowed, and all property confounded, they were obliged upon the retreat of the waters to have recourſe to geometrical deciſion, in order to determine the limits of their poſſeſſions.—*Bryant.*

[190] *The pole, the gnomon.*]—The text is a literal tranſlation of the original, to which as it ſtands it will not be very eaſy to annex any meaning. My own opinion, from reflecting on the context is, that it ſignifies a dial with its index. Weſſeling, in his note on this paſſage, informs us from Pollux, that many conſidered πολον and ωρολογιον as ſynonymous expreſſions. Scaliger is of the ſame opinion, to which Weſſeling himſelf accedes. Salmaſius thinks differently, and ſays of this particular paſſage, ne hoc quidem

division of the day [191] into twelve parts, the Greeks received them from the Babylonians.

CX.

quidem quidquam ad horologiorum usum facit. Larcher's interpretation seems far-fetched. "He," says the learned Frenchman, "who wishes to form a solar quadrant must necessarily know the altitude of the pole."—When it is considered that the more ancient dials were divided by the first *twelve* letters of the alphabet, I cannot help adhering to the interpretation I have given of it.—*T.*

191 *Division of the day.*]—From this passage it appears, that in the time of Herodotus the day was divided into twelve parts: at the same time we may not conclude, with Leon, Allatius, and Wesseling, that to these twelve parts the name of *hours* was given. It is by no means certain when the twenty-four parts of the day were first distinguished by the name of hours, but it was doubtless very late; and the passages cited from Anacreon and Xenophon to prove the contrary ought not to be interpreted by what we call hours.

The passage in Anacreon, μεσονυκτιοις ποθ' ὥραις, means nothing more than the middle of the night. Νυκτος αμολγῷ, in Homer, which signifies an advanced time of the night, is explained by the Scholiast ἡ τȣ μεσονυκτιȣ ωρα, the very expression of Anacreon. The passage from Xenophon is not more decisive.—*Larcher.*

Upon this subject we have the following curious note in the Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis:—Of the dials of the ancients we may form some idea from the following example: Palladius Rutilius, who lived about the fifth century, and who has left us a treatise on agriculture, has put at the end of every month a table, in which one sees the correspondence of the divisions of the day to the different lengths of the shadow of the gnomon. It must be observed in the first place, that this correspondence is the same in the months equally distant from the solstice, January and December, February and November, &c. Secondly, that the length of the shadow is the same for the hours equally distant from the mid-day point. The following is the table for January:

CX. Except Sesostris, no monarch of Ægypt was ever master of Æthiopia. This prince placed as a monument [192] some marble statues before the temple of Vulcan: two of these were thirty cubits in height, and represented him and his queen; four others, of twenty cubits each, represented his four children. A long time afterwards Darius king of Persia, was desirous of placing before these a statue of himself [193], but the high priest of Vulcan violently opposed it, urging that the actions of Darius were far less splendid than those of the Ægyptian Sesostris,

Hours.	Feet.
I. and XI. - - -	29
II. and X. - - -	19
III. and IX. - - -	15
IV. and VIII. - - -	12
V. and VII. - - -	10
VI. - - -	9

This dial seems to have been adapted for the climate of Rome. Similar to this were constructed for the climate of Athens.

[192] *Placed as a monument.*]—Larcher, in his version, adds in this place, " to commemorate the danger he had escaped." The text will not justify this version, though the learned Frenchman's opinion, that this is the implied meaning, rests on the positive assertion of Diodorus Siculus, who, relating the fact of the statues circumstantially, adds that they were erected by Sesostris in gratitude to Vulcan, by whose interposition he escaped the treachery of his brother.—*T.*

[193] *A statue of himself.*]—After a series of ages, when Ægypt was reduced under the power of Persia, Darius, the father of Xerxes, was desirous of placing an image of himself at Memphis, before the statue of Sesostris. This was strenuously opposed by the chief priest, in an assembly of his order, who asserted that the acts of Darius had not yet surpassed those of Sesostris. The king did not take this freedom amiss, but was rather pleased

Sesostris. This latter prince had vanquished as many nations as Darius, and had also subdued the Scythians, who had never yielded to the arms of Darius. Therefore, says he, it can never be just to place before the statues of Sesostris the figure of a prince, whose exploits have not been equally illustrious. They told me that Darius forgave this remonstrance [194].

CXI. On the death of Sesostris, his son Pheron [195], as the priests informed me, succeeded to his throne. This prince undertook no military expedition; but by the action I am going to relate he lost the use of his eyes:—When the Nile was at its extreme height of eighteen cubits, and had overflowed the fields, a sudden wind arose which made the waters impetuously swell; at this juncture the prince hurled a javelin into the vortex of the stream: he was in a moment deprived of sight, and continued blind for the space of ten years; in the eleventh an oracle was communicated to him

pleased with it; saying, that if he lived as long as Sesostris, he would endeavour to equal him.—*Diodorus Siculus.*

194 *Forgave this remonstrance.*]—It does not however appear from hence that Darius was ever in Ægypt. The resistance of the chief priest might probably be told him, and he might forgive it. It appears by a passage in Aristotle, that Darius attacked and conquered this country; if so, the priest of Vulcan might personally oppose Darius. The authority of Aristotle is of no weight compared with that of our historian; and probably, in that writer, instead of Darius we should read Xerxes.—*Larcher.*

195 *Pheron.*]—This prince is supposed to be the first Ægyptian Pharaoh.—*T.*

from Butos, intimating that the period of his punishment was expired, and that he should recover his sight by washing his eyes with the urine of a woman who had never known any man but her husband. Pheron first made the experiment with the urine of his own wife, and when this did not succeed he applied that of other women indiscriminately. Having at length recovered his sight, he assembled all the women, except her whose urine had removed his calamity, in a city which is to this day called Erythrebolos [196]; all these, with the town itself, he destroyed by fire, but he married the female who had deserved his gratitude. On his recovery he sent magnificent presents to all the more celebrated temples; to that of the sun he sent two obelisks too remarkable to be unnoticed: each was formed of one solid stone, one hundred cubits high, and eighty broad.

CXII. The successor of Pheron, as the same priests informed me, was a citizen of Memphis, whose name in the Greek tongue was Proteus [197]. His shrine

[196] *Erythrebolos.*]—Diodorus Siculus calls this place Heliopolis; and says that the woman, through whose means Pheron was cured of his blindness, was the wife of a gardener.—*T.*

[197] *Proteus.*]—Proteus was an Ægyptian title of the deity, under which he was worshipped, both in the Pharos and at Memphis. He was the same as Osiris and Canobus, and particularly the god of mariners, who confined his department to the sea. From hence I think we may unravel the mystery about the pilot of Menelaus, who is said to have been named Canobus, and

ſhrine is ſtill to be ſeen at Memphis, it is ſituated to the ſouth of the temple of Vulcan, and is very magnificently decorated. The Phœnicians of Tyre dwell in its vicinity, and indeed the whole of the place is denominated the Tyrian camp. In this ſpot, conſecrated to Proteus, there is alſo a ſmall temple, dedicated to Venus the ſtranger [198]: this Venus I conjecture is no other than Helen, the daughter of Tyndaris, becauſe ſhe, I was told, reſided for ſome time at the court of Proteus, and

and to have given name to the principal ſea-port in Ægypt.—*Bryant.*

No antique figure has yet been met with of Proteus: upon this circumſtance Mr. Spence remarks, that his character was far more manageable for poets, than for ſculptors or painters. The former might very well deſcribe all the variety of ſhapes that he could put on, and point out the tranſition from one to the other, but the artiſts muſt have been content to ſhew him either in his own natural ſhape, or in ſome one alone of all his various forms. Of this deity the beſt deſcription is given in the Georgics of Virgil.—*T.*

It is remarkable, that if we were to write the Ægyptian name of Proteus, as given by the Greeks, in Phœnician characters, we ſhould make uſe of the ſame letters we pronounce Pharao; the final *o* in the Hebrew is an *h*, which at the end of words frequently becomes *t.*—*Volney.*

198 *Venus the ſtranger.*]—It is doubtleſs this Venus to whom Horace alludes in the following verſes:

> Oh quæ beatam diva tenes Cyprum, et
> Memphim carentem Sithonia nive
> Regina.

Strabo alſo ſpeaks of this temple, and tells us that ſome believed it dedicated to the moon.—*T.*

becauſe

because this building is dedicated to Venus the stranger; no other temple of Venus is distinguished by this appellation.

CXIII. To my enquiries on the subject[199] of Helen, these priests answered as follows: Paris having carried off Helen from Sparta, was returning home, but meeting with contrary winds in the Ægean, he was driven into the Ægyptian sea. As the winds continued unfavourable, he proceeded to Ægypt, and was driven to the Canopian mouth of the Nile, and to Tarichea: in that situation was a temple of Hercules, which still remains; to this if any slave fled for refuge, and in testimony of his consecrating himself to the service of the god, submitted to be marked with certain sacred characters, no one was suffered to molest him. This custom has been strictly observed, from its first institution to the present period. The servants of Paris, aware of the privileges of this temple, fled thither from their master, and with the view of injuring Paris, became the suppliants of the divinity. They published many accusations against their master, disclosing the whole affair of Helen, and the wrong done to Menelaus: this they did, not only in the

[199] *Enquiries on the subject.*]—Upon no subject, ancient or modern, have writers been more divided, than about the precise period of the Trojan war. Larcher, after discussing this matter very fully, in his Essay on Chronology, is of opinion, and his arguments appear to me at least, satisfactory, that it took place 1263 years before the vulgar æra.—*T.*

presence

presence of the priests, but also before Thonis [200], the governor of the district.

CXIV. Thonis instantly dispatched a messenger to Memphis, with orders to say thus to Proteus: "There is arrived here a Trojan, who has perpetrated an atrocious crime in Greece; he has seduced the wife of his host, and has carried her away, with a great quantity of treasure; adverse winds have forced him hither: shall I suffer him to depart without molestation, or shall I seize his person and property?" The answer which Proteus sent was thus conceived: "Whoever that man is who has violated the rights of hospitality, seize and bring him before me, that I may examine him."

CXV. Thonis upon this seized Paris, and detaining his vessels, instantly sent him to Proteus, with Helen [201] and all his wealth: on their arrival, Proteus

[200] *Thonis.*]—Some writers pretend that Thonis was prince of the Canopian mouth of the Nile, and that he was the inventor of medicine in Ægypt. Before he saw Helen he treated Menelaus with great respect; when he had seen her he made his court to her, and even endeavoured to violate her person: Menelaus on hearing this put him to death. The city of Thonis, and Thoth, the first Ægyptian month, take their names from him.

This narrative seems less probable than that of Herodotus: Theth, or the Mercury of the Ægyptians, was much more ancient.—*Larcher.*

[201] This incident of the detention of Helen by Proteus, is the argument of one of the tragedies of Euripides.

The

Proteus enquired of Paris who he was, and whence he came: Paris faithfully related the name of his family and country, and from whence he last set sail. But when Proteus proceeded to make enquiries concerning Helen, and how he obtained possession of her person, Paris hesitated in his answers; his slaves who had deserted him explained and proved the particulars of his guilt; in consequence of which Proteus made this determination: "If I did not esteem it a very heinous crime to put any stranger to death, whom unfavourable winds have driven to my coast, I would assuredly, thou most abandoned man, avenge that Greek whose hospitality thou hast treacherously violated. Thou hast not only seduced his wife, but, having violently taken her away, still criminally detainest her; and, as if this were not enough, thou hast robbed and plundered him! But as I can by no means prevail upon myself to put a stranger to death, you I shall suffer to depart; the woman and your wealth I shall detain, till the Greek himself thinks proper to demand her.—Do you and your companions depart within three days from my coasts, or expect to be treated as enemies."

CXVI. Thus, according to the narrative of the

The poet supposes that Helen never was at Troy, but that Paris carried thither a cloud in her form:—On the death of Proteus, his son Theaclymenus prepared to make Helen his wife; at this juncture Menelaus was driven on the coast, saw Helen again, and with her concerted and accomplished their return to Greece.—*T.*

priests,

priests, did Helen come to the court of Proteus. I conceive that this circumstance could not be unknown to Homer; but as he thought it less ornamental to his poem, he forbore to use it. That he actually did know it, is evident from that part of the Iliad where he describes the voyage of Paris; this evidence he has no where retracted. He informs us, that Paris, after various wanderings, at length arrived at Sidon, in Phœnicia; it is in the Bravery of Diomed [202]; the passage is this:

There lay the vestures of no vulgar art,
Sidonian maids embroider'd every part;
When from soft Sidon youthful Paris bore,
With Helen touching on the Tyrian shore.

Il. vi. 390.

202 *Bravery of Diomed.*]—The different parts of Homer's poems were known anciently by names taken from the subjects treated in them:—Thus the fifth book of the Iliad was called the *Bravery of Diomed*; and in like manner the eleventh the *Bravery of Agamemnon*; the tenth the *Night-watch*, or the *Death of Dolon*, &c.; all of which titles are prefixed to the respective books in Clarke's and other editions from Eustathius:—See also Ælian, Var. Hist. Book xiii. c. 14. This division was more ancient than that into books, and therefore does not always coincide with it: thus the second Iliad has two names, the *Dream* or the *Trial*, and the *Catalogue*; whereas four or five books of the Odyssey are supposed to be comprized under the name of the *Story of Alcinous*. Valcnaer erroneously supposed this to be a later division of the grammarians, and therefore endeavoured to explain away the expression of Herodotus, which evidently refers to it.—*T.*

He again introduces this ſubject in the Odyſſey:

These drugs, ſo friendly to the joys of life,
Bright Helen learn'd from Thone's imperial
wife;
Who ſway'd the ſceptre where prolific Nile
With various ſimples clothes the fatten'd ſoil,
With wholeſome herbage mix'd, the direful
bane
Of vegetable venom taints the plain.

Od. iv. 315.

Menelaus alſo ſays thus to Telemachus:

Long on the Ægyptian coaſt by calms confin'd,
Heaven to my fleet refus'd a proſperous wind:
No vows had we preferr'd, no victim ſlain,
For this the gods each favouring gale reſtrain.

Od. iv. 473.

In theſe paſſages Homer confeſſes himſelf acquainted with the voyage of Paris to Ægypt; for Syria borders upon Ægypt, and the Phœnicians, to whom Sidon belongs, inhabit part of Syria.

CXVII. Of theſe the laſt paſſage confirms ſufficiently the argument, which may be deduced from the former, that the Cyprian verſes [203] were never written

[203] *Cyprian verſes.*]—On the ſubject of theſe verſes the following ſentence occurs in Athenæus.

"The perſon who compoſed the Cyprian verſes, whether he was ſome Cyprian or Staſinus, or by whatever name he chooſes to be diſtinguiſhed," &c. From which it appears, that Athenæus

written by Homer. These relate that Paris, in company with Helen, assisted by a favourable wind and sea, passed in three days from Sparta to Troy; on the contrary, it is asserted in the Iliad, that Paris, after carrying away Helen, wandered about to various places.

CXVIII. I was desirous of knowing whether all that the Greeks relate concerning Troy had any foundation in truth; and the same priests instructed me in the following particulars, which they learned from Menelaus himself. After the loss of Helen, the Greeks assembled in great numbers at Teucris, to assist Menelaus; they disembarked and encamped: they then dispatched ambassadors to Troy, whom Menelaus himself accompanied. On their arrival they made a formal demand of Helen, of the wealth which Paris had at the same time clandestinely taken, as well as general satisfaction for

næus had no idea of their being written by Homer. But we are told by Ælian, in his Various History, that Homer certainly did compose these verses, and gave them as a marriage portion with his daughter.—See Ælian, Book ix. chap. 15, in the note to which, this subject is amply discussed.—*T.*

The subject of this poem was the Trojan war, after the birth of Helen. Venus caused this princess to be born, that she might be able to promise Paris an accomplished beauty; to this Jupiter, by the advice of Momus, had consented, in order to destroy the human race again by the war of Troy, which was to take place on her account. As the author of this poem refers all the events of this war to Venus, goddess of Cyprus, the work was called by her name. "It is evident," says M. Larcher in continuation, "that Herodotus would have told the name of the author, had he known it."

the injury. The Trojans then and afterwards uniformly persisted in declaring that they had among them neither the person nor the wealth of Helen, but that both were in Ægypt; and they thought it hard that they should be made responsible for what Proteus king of Ægypt certainly possessed. The Greeks, believing themselves deluded, laid siege to Troy, and persevered till they took it. But when Helen was not to be found in the captured town, and the same assertions concerning her were continued, they at length obtained credit, and Menelaus himself was dispatched to Proteus.

CXIX. As soon as he arrived in Ægypt he proceeded up the Nile to Memphis. On his relating the object of his journey, he was honourably entertained; Helen, who had been treated with respect, was restored to him, and with her, all his treasures. Inattentive to these acts of kindness, Menelaus perpetrated a great enormity against the Ægyptians: the winds preventing his departure, he took two children [204] of the people of the country, and with great

204 *Two children.*]—This was doubtless to appease the winds. This kind of sacrifice was frequent in Greece, but detestable in Ægypt.

Sanguine placastis ventos et virgine cæsâ.—*Virgil.*

See Book vii. chap. 191.—*Larcher.*

In the early times of all religions, when nations were yet barbarous and savage, there was ever an aptness or tendency towards the dark part of superstition, which among many other horrors produced that of *human sacrifice.*—*Lord Shaftesbury.*

That

great barbarity offered them in sacrifice. As soon as the circumstance was known, universal indignation was excited against him, and he was pursued; but he fled by sea into Africa, and the Ægyptians could trace him no further. Of the above facts, some they knew, as having happened among themselves, and others were the result of much diligent enquiry.

CXX. This intelligence concerning Helen I received from the Ægyptian priests, to which I am inclined to add, as my opinion, that if Helen had been actually in Troy, they would certainly have restored her to the Greeks, with or without the consent of Paris. Priam and his connections could never have been so infatuated, as to endanger the preservation of themselves and their children, merely that Paris might enjoy Helen; but even if such had been their determination at first, still after having lost, in their different contests with the Greeks, many of their countrymen, and among these, if the poets may be believed, several of their king's own sons, I cannot imagine but that Priam, even if he had married her himself, would have restored Helen, if no other means had existed of averting these calamities. We may add to this, that Paris was

That the custom of human sacrifice, alike cruel and absurd, gives way but very slowly to the voice of nature and of reason, is evident from its having been practised at so late a period by the enlightened people of Greece. Porphyry also informs us, that even in his time, who lived 233 years after the Christian æra, human sacrifices were common in Arcadia and at Carthage.—*T.*

not the immediate heir to the crown, for Hector was his superior both in age and virtue: Paris, therefore, could not have possessed any remarkable influence in the state, neither would Hector have countenanced the misconduct of his brother, from which he himself, and the rest of his countrymen, had experienced so many and such great calamities. But the restoration of Helen was not in their power, and the Greeks placed no dependance on their assertions, which were indisputably true; but all this, with the subsequent destruction of Troy, might be ordained by Providence, to instruct mankind that the gods proportioned punishments to crimes.

CXXI. The same instructors farther told me, that Proteus was succeeded by Rhampsinitus [205]: he built the west entrance of the temple of Vulcan; in the same situation he also erected two statues, twenty-five cubits in height. That which faces the north the Ægyptians call summer, the one to the south winter: this latter is treated with no manner of respect, but they worship the former, and make offerings before it. This prince possessed such abundance of wealth, that so far from surpassing, none of his successors ever equalled him in affluence. For the security of his riches, he constructed a stone edifice, connected with his palace by a wall. The

[205] *Rhampsinitus.*]—Diodorus Siculus calls him Rhemphis. He greatly oppressed his subjects by his avarice and extortions: he amassed in gold and silver four hundred thousand talents; a most incredible sum.—*Larcher.*

man whom he employed[206], with a dishonest view so artfully disposed one of the stones, that two or even one person might remove it from its place. In this building, when completed, the king deposited his treasures. Some time afterwards the artist found his end approaching; and having two sons, he called them both before him, and informed them in what manner, with a view to their future emolument and prosperity, he had built the king's treasury. He then explained the particular circumstance and situation of the stone, gave them minutely its dimensions, by observance of which they might become the managers of the king's riches. On the death of the father, the sons were not long before they availed themselves of their secret. Under the advantage of the night, they visited the building, discovered and removed the stone, and carried away with them a large sum of money. As soon as the king entered the apartment, he saw the vessels which contained his money materially diminished: he was astonished beyond measure, for as the seals were unbroken, and every entrance properly secured, he could not possibly direct his suspicion against any one. This was several times repeated; the thieves continued their visits, and the king as regularly saw his money decrease. To effect a discovery, he ordered some traps to be placed round the vessels which contained his riches.

206 *The man whom he employed.*]—Pausanias relates a similar fable of Trophonius, whose cave became so famous.—*Larcher.*

The robbers came as before; one of them proceeding as usual directly to the vessels, was caught in the snare: as soon as he was sensible of his situation, he called his brother, and acquainted him with it; he withal intreated him to cut off his head without a moment's delay, as the only means of preventing his own detection and consequent loss of life; he approved and obeyed his advice, and replacing properly the stone, he returned home with the head of his brother. As soon as it was light the king entered the apartment, and seeing the body secured in the snare without a head, the building in no part disturbed, nor the smallest appearance of any one having been there, he was more astonished than ever. In this perplexity he commanded the body to be hanged from the wall, and having stationed guards on the spot, he directed them to seize and bring before him whoever should discover any symptoms of compassion or sorrow at sight of the deceased. The mother being much exasperated at this exposure of her son, threatened the surviving brother, that if he did not contrive and execute some means of removing the body, she would immediately go to the king, and disclose all the circumstances of the robbery. The young man in vain endeavoured to alter the woman's determination; he therefore put in practice the following expedient:—He got together some asses, which he loaded with flasks of wine; he then drove them near the place where the guards were stationed to watch the body of his brother; as soon as he approached, he secretly removed the pegs from

from the mouths of two or three of the ſkins, and when he ſaw the wine running about, he began to beat his head, and to cry out vehemently, with much pretended confuſion and diſtreſs. The ſoldiers, perceiving the accident, inſtantly ran with veſſels, and ſuch wine as they were able to catch they conſidered as ſo much gain to themſelves. At firſt, with great apparent anger, he reproached and abuſed them, but he gradually liſtened to their endeavours to conſôle and pacify him: he then proceeded at leiſure to turn his aſſes out of the road, and to ſecure his flaſks. He ſoon entered into converſation with the guards, and affecting to be pleaſed with the drollery of one of them, he gave them a flaſk of wine; they accordingly ſat down to drink, and inſiſted upon his bearing them company: he complied with their ſolicitations, and a ſecond flaſk was preſently the effect of their civility to him. The wine had ſoon its effect, the guards became exceedingly drunk, and fell faſt aſleep; under the advantage of the night, the young man took down the body of his brother, and in deriſion ſhaved the right cheeks of the guards; he placed the body on one of the aſſes, and returned home, having thus ſatisfied his mother. When the king heard of what had happened, he was enraged beyond meaſure; but ſtill determined on the detection of the criminal, he contrived this, which to me ſeems a moſt improbable[207] part of the ſtory:—He commanded his

207 *Moſt improbable.*]—Herodotus, we may perceive from this paſſage,

his daughter to prostitute her person indiscriminately to every comer, upon condition that, before enjoyment, each should tell her the most artful as well as the most wicked thing he had ever done; if any one should disclose the circumstance of which he wished to be informed, she was to seize him, and prevent his escape. The daughter obeyed the injunction of her father; the thief, knowing what was intended, prepared still farther to disappoint and deceive the king. He cut off the arm near the shoulder from a body recently dead, and concealing it under his cloak, he visited the king's daughter: when he was asked the same question as the rest, he replied, "That the most wicked thing he had ever done was the cutting off the head of his brother, who was caught in a snare in the king's treasury; the most artful thing, was his making the guards drunk, and by that means effecting the removal of his brother's body." On hearing this she endeavoured to apprehend him, but he, favoured by the night, put out to her the dead arm, which she seizing, was thus deluded, whilst he made his escape. On hearing this also, the king was equally astonished at the art and audacity of the man; he was afterwards induced to make a proclamation through the different parts of his dominions, that if the offender would appear before him, he would not only pardon but reward him

passage, did not implicitly credit all the priests told him. Many other passages occur in the process of the work, to prove that our historian was by no means so credulous as has been generally imagined.—*Larcher*.

§ liberally.

liberally. The thief, trusting to his word, appeared; Rhampsinitus was delighted with the man, and thinking his ingenuity beyond all parallel, gave him his daughter. The king conceived the Ægyptians superior in subtlety to all the world, but he thought this man superior even to Ægyptians.

CXXII. After this event, they told me that the same king [208] descended alive beneath the earth, to what the Greeks call the infernal regions, where he played at dice with the goddess Ceres [209], and alternately won and lost [210]. On his return she presented him

[208] *The same king.*]—The kings of Ægypt had many names and titles, these names and titles have been branched out into persons, and inserted in the lists of the real monarchs. I have mentioned of Osiris, that he was exposed in an ark, and for a long time in a state of death; the like is said of Orus, Adonis, Thamuz, and Talus, Tulus, or Thoulos. Lastly, it is said of Rhameses, whom Herodotus calls Rhampsinitus, that he descended to the mansions of death, and after some stay returned to light. I mention these things to shew that the whole is one and the same history, and that all these names are titles of the same person. They have however been otherwise esteemed, and we find them accordingly inserted in the lists of kings, by which means the chronology of Ægypt has been greatly embarrassed. —*Bryant.*

[209] *Ceres.*]—In the Greek Demeter. "The Ægyptians," says Diodorus Siculus, "rated the earth as the common womb of all things, Meter, which the Greeks, by an easy addition, afterwards altered to Demeter."—*T.*

[210] *Alternately won and lost.*]—Valcnaer informs us in a note, that this circumstance of playing at dice with Ceres, and alternately conquering and being conquered, has been ingeniously explained to mean no more, quam Cererem almam et fautricem vel

him with a napkin embroidered with gold. This period of his return was obſerved by the Ægyptians as a ſolemn feſtival, and has continued to the time of my remembrance; whether the above, or ſome other incident, was the occaſion of this feaſt, I will not take upon me to determine. The miniſters of this ſolemnity have a veſt woven within the ſpace of the day, this is worn by a prieſt whoſe eyes are covered with a bandage. They conduct him to the path which leads to the temple of Ceres, and there leave him. They aſſert, that two wolves meet the prieſt thus blinded, and lead him to the temple, though at the diſtance of twenty ſtadia from the city, and afterwards conduct him back again to the place where they found him.

CXXIII. Every reader muſt determine for himſelf with reſpect to the credibility of what I have related; for my own part I heard theſe things from the Ægyptians, and think it neceſſary to tranſcribe the reſult of my enquiries. The Ægyptians eſteem Ceres and Bacchus as the great deities of the realms below; they are alſo the firſt of mankind who have defended the immortality of the ſoul [211]. They believe,

vel viciſſim inimicam experiri, to find agricultural experiments ſometimes ſucceſsful and ſometimes otherwiſe. I think there was probably ſomething alſo allegorical and myſterious in the ſtory—poſſibly there might be in this feaſt ſomething ſimilar to the Eleuſinian myſteries, the particular mention of Ceres ſuggeſts that opinion.—*T.*

[211] *Immortality of the ſoul.*]—The doctrine of the reſurrection was firſt entertained by the Ægyptians, and their mummies were

believe, that on the diſſolution of the body the ſoul immediately enters ſome other animal, and that, after

were embalmed, their pyramids were conſtructed to preſerve the ancient manſion of the ſoul during a period of three thouſand years. But the attempt is partial and unavailing; and it is with a more philoſophic ſpirit that Mahomet relies on the omnipotence of the Creator, whoſe word can reanimate the breathleſs clay, and collect the innumerable atoms that no longer retain their form or ſubſtance. The intermediate ſtate of the ſoul it is hard to decide; and thoſe who moſt firmly believe her immaterial nature are at a loſs to underſtand how ſhe can think or act without the agency of the organs of ſenſe.—*Gibbon.*

The Platonic doctrine eſteemed the body a kind of priſon with reſpect to the ſoul. Somewhat ſimilar to this was the opinion of the Marcionites, who called the death of the body the reſurrection of the ſoul.—*T.*

The ſoul, by reaſon of its anxiety and impotence, being unable to ſtand by itſelf, wanders up and down to ſeek out conſolations, hopes, and foundations, to which ſhe adheres and fixes. But 'tis wonderful to obſerve how ſhort the moſt conſtant and obſtinate maintainers of this juſt and clear perſuaſion of the immortality of the ſoul do fall, and how weak their arguments are when they go about to prove it by human reaſon.—*Montaigne.*

To enumerate the various opinions which have prevailed concerning the ſoul of man, would be an undertaking alike arduous and unprofitable. Some of the ancients conſidered it as part of the ſubſtance of God; the doctrine of the propagation of ſouls prevailed, according to Bayle, or rather ſubſiſted, to a very late period of the Chriſtian æra: Averhoes affirmed its mortality, and moſt of the pagan philoſophers believed it to be material; but the arguments for its immortality which are afforded us in the word of God at the ſame time animate our piety, and ſatisfy our reaſon.—*T.*

I have obſerved ſo many marks of reſemblance betwixt the Ægyptians and the Indians, that I can by no means perſuade myſelf that they are the effect of chance. I love better to believe

after uſing as vehicles every ſpecies of terreſtrial, aquatic, and winged creatures, it finally enters a ſecond time into a human body. They affirm that it undergoes all theſe changes in the ſpace of three thouſand years. This opinion ſome amongſt the Greeks[212] have at different periods of time adopted as their own; but I ſhall not, though I am able, ſpecify their names.

CXXIV. I was alſo informed by the ſame prieſts,

lieve that India was civilized by thoſe Ægyptians who accompanied Bacchus or Seſoſtris in their expeditions. I am, therefore, not at all ſurprized at finding amongſt the Indians Ægyptian architecture, the diviſion of the people into tribes, which never intermingle; reſpect for animals, and for the cow in particular; the metempſychoſis, &c. With regard to this laſt dogma, I am tempted to believe, that it did not originate in Ægypt, that it indeed is not of very great antiquity, and that the ſoldiers of Seſoſtris brought it with them on their return from their expedition. "I know," remarks Pauſanias, "that the Chaldean and Indian magi have been the firſt who aſſerted the immortality of the ſoul." Beſides Moſes, who was anterior to that prince, had heard no mention of it; if he did know it, how could he perſuade himſelf that he was choſen to keep under the laws of God, and their own, a people always ready to rebel? It is indeed known, that the immortality of the ſoul was not known to the Jews, but by the commerce which they had with the Aſſyrians, during the time of their captivity.—*Larcher.*

212 *Some amongſt the Greeks.*]—He doubtleſs means to ſpeak of Pherecydes of Syros, and Pythagoras.—*Larcher.*

Pherecydes was the diſciple of Pittacus, and the maſter of Pythagoras, and alſo of Thales the Mileſian. He lived in the time of Servius Tullus, and, as Cicero tells us, primum dixit animos hominum eſſe ſempiternos, firſt taught that the ſouls of men were immortal. His life is given at ſome length by Diogenes Laertius.—*T.*

that

that till the reign of Rhampſinitus, Ægypt was not only remarkable for its abundance, but for its excellent laws. Cheops, who ſucceeded this prince, degenerated into the extremeſt profligacy of conduct[213]. He barred the avenues to every temple, and forbad the Ægyptians to offer ſacrifices; he proceeded next to make them labour ſervilely for himſelf.

213 *Profligacy of conduct.*]—It is not eaſy to ſee what could induce M. de Paw to attempt the vindication of this prince, and to reject as fabulous what Herodotus relates of his deſpotiſm, as if this were not the infirmity of theſe princes, and as if they did not all endeavour to eſtabliſh it within their dominions. Ægypt enjoyed good laws at the firſt, they were obſerved during ſome ages, and the people were conſequently happy; but their princes endeavoured to free themſelves from the reſtraints impoſed upon them, and by degrees they ſucceeded. M. de Voltaire was juſtified in conſidering the conſtruction of the pyramids as a proof of the ſlavery of the Ægyptians; and it is with much juſtice he remarks, that it would not be poſſible to compel the Engliſh to erect ſimilar maſſes, who are far more powerful than the Ægyptians at that time were. This is perfectly true, and M. de Paw, in attacking Voltaire, has wandered from the queſtion. He ought to have proved, that the kings of England were really able to compel their ſubjects to raiſe ſimilar monuments, as Herodotus poſitively aſſerts of the princes of Ægypt. He ought, I ſay, to have proved this, and not to have advanced that the cultivation of their lands coſt the Engliſh nine times more labour than it does in Ægypt; and that their marine in one year occaſions the deſtruction of more people *than the conſtruction of all the pyramids would have done in a long ſeries of ages.* M. de Paw would not ſee that a ſpirit of ambition, a deſire of wealth, &c. induce the Engliſh eagerly to undertake the moſt laborious enterprizes; that they are not obliged to do this; and in one word that it is optional with them; on the contrary, the Ægyptians were compelled by their ſovereigns to labours the moſt painful, humiliating, and ſervile.—*Larcher.*

himſelf. Some he compelled to hew ſtones in the quarries of the Arabian mountains, and drag them to the banks of the Nile; others were appointed to receive them in veſſels, and tranſport them to a mountain of Libya. For this ſervice an hundred thouſand men were employed, who were relieved every three months. Ten years were conſumed in the hard labour of forming the road through which theſe ſtones were to be drawn; a work, in my eſtimation, of no leſs fatigue and difficulty than the pyramid itſelf[214]. This cauſe-way

[214] *The pyramid itſelf.*]—For the ſatisfaction of the Engliſh reader, I ſhall in few words enumerate the different uſes for which the learned have ſuppoſed the pyramids to have been erected. Some have imagined that, by hieroglyphics inſcribed on their external ſurface, the Ægyptians wiſhed to convey to the remoteſt poſterity their national hiſtory, as well as their improvements in ſcience and the arts. This, however ingenious, ſeems but little probable; for the ingenuity which was equal to contrive, and the induſtry which perſevered to execute ſtructures like the pyramids, could not but foreſee, that however the buildings themſelves might from their ſolidity and form defy the effects of time, the outward ſurface, in ſuch a ſituation and climate, could not be proportionably permanent; add to this, that the hieroglyphics were a ſacred language, and, obſcure in themſelves, and revealed but to a ſelect number, might to poſterity afford opportunity of ingenious conjecture, but were a very inadequate vehicle of hiſtorical facts.

Others have believed them intended merely as obſervatories to extend philoſophic and aſtronomical knowledge; but in defence of this opinion little can be ſaid: the adjacent country is a flat and even ſurface, buildings, therefore, of ſuch a height, were both abſurd and unneceſſary; beſides that, for ſuch a purpoſe, it would have been very prepoſterous to have conſtructed ſuch a number of coſtly and maſſy piles, differing ſo little in altitude.

To

way[215] is five stadia in length, forty cubits wide, and its extreme height thirty-two cubits, the whole is

To this may be added, that it does not appear, from an examination of the pyramids, that access to the summit was ever practicable, during their perfect state.

By some they have been considered as repositories for corn, erected by Joseph, and called the granaries of Pharaoh. The argument against this is very convincing, and is afforded us by Pliny. "In the building the largest of the pyramids 366,000 men," says he, "were employed twenty years together." This, therefore, will be found but ill to correspond with the scriptural history of Joseph. The years of plenty which he foretold were only seven, which fact is of itself a sufficient answer to the above.

It remains, therefore, to mention the more popular and the more probable opinion, which is, that they were intended for the sepulchres of the Ægyptian monarchs.

> Instead of useful works, like nature, great
> Enormous cruel wonders crush'd the land,
> And round a tyrant's tomb, who none deserv'd,
> For one vile carcase perish'd countless lives.—*Thomson.*

When we consider the religious prejudices of the Ægyptians, their opinion concerning the soul, the pride, the despotism, and the magnificence of their ancient princes, together with the modern discoveries with respect to the interior of these enormous piles, there seems to remain but little occasion for argument, or reason for doubt.—*T.*

215 *Causeway.*]—The stones might be conveyed by the canal that runs about two miles north of the pyramids, and from thence part of the way by this extraordinary causeway. For at this time there is a causeway from that part, extending about a thousand yards in length, and twenty feet wide, built of hewn stone. The length of it agreeing so well with the account of Herodotus, is a strong confirmation that this causeway has been kept up ever since, though some of the materials of it may have been changed, all being now built with free-stone. It is strengthened on each side

is of polished marble, adorned with the figures of animals. Ten years, as I remarked, were exhausted in forming this causeway, not to mention the time employed in the vaults[216] of the hill[217] upon which the pyramids are erected. These he intended as a place of burial for himself, and were in an island which he formed by introducing the waters of the Nile. The pyramid

side with semicircular buttresses, about fourteen feet diameter, and thirty feet apart; there are sixty-one of these buttresses, beginning from the north. Sixty feet further it turns to the west for a little way, then there is a bridge of about twelve arches, twenty feet wide, built on piers that are ten feet wide. Above one hundred yards further there is such another bridge, beyond which the causeway continues about one hundred yards to the south, ending about a mile from the pyramids, where the ground is higher. The country over which the causeway is built, being low, and the water lying on it a great while, seems to be the reason for building this causeway at first, and continuing to keep it in repair.—*Pococke.*

The two bridges described by Pococke are also mentioned particularly by Norden. The two travellers differ essentially in the dimensions which they give of the bridges they severally measured; which induces M. Larcher reasonably to suppose that Pococke described one bridge, and Norden the other.—*T.*

216 *Vaults.*]—The second pyramid has a fosse cut in the rock to the north and west of it, which is about ninety feet wide, and thirty feet deep. There are small apartments cut from it into the rock, &c.

217 *The hill.*]—The pyramids are not situated in plains, but upon the rock that is at the foot of the high mountains which accompany the Nile in its course, and which make the separation betwixt Ægypt and Libya. It may have fourscore feet of perpendicular elevation above the horizon of the ground, that is always overflowed by the Nile. It is a Danish league in circumference.—*Norden.*

itself

itself was a work of twenty years: it is of a square form; every front is eighty plethra [218] long, and as many

[218] *Eighty plethra.*]—To this day the dimensions of the great pyramid are problematical. Since the time of Herodotus, many travellers and men of learning have measured it; and the difference of their calculations, far from removing, have but augmented doubt. I will give you a table of their admeasurements, which at least will serve to prove how difficult it is to come at truth.

	Height of the great pyramid.	Width of one side.
Ancients.	Feet.	Feet.
Herodotus	800	800
Strabo	625	600
Diodorus	600 some inches	700
Pliny		708
Moderns.		
Le Brun	616	704
Prosp. Alpinus	625	750
Thevenot	520	612
Niebuhr	440	710
Greaves	444	648

Number of the layers or steps.

Greaves	207
Maillet	208
Albert Lewenstein	260
Pococke	212
Belon	250
Thevenot	208

To me it seems evident that Greaves and Niebuhr are prodigiously deceived in the perpendicular height of the great pyramid. All travellers agree it contains at least two hundred and seven layers, which layers are from four to two feet high. The highest are at the base, and they decrease insensibly to the top. I measured several, which were more than three feet high, and I found

many in height; the ſtones are very ſkilfully cemented, and none of them of leſs dimenſions than thirty feet.

CXXV. The aſcent of the pyramid was regularly graduated by what ſome call ſteps, and others altars. Having finiſhed the firſt flight, they elevated the ſtones to the ſecond by the aid of machines [219] conſtructed of ſhort pieces of wood; from the ſecond, by a ſimilar engine, they were raiſed to the third, and ſo on to the ſummit. Thus there were as many machines as there were regular divi-

found none that were leſs than two, therefore the leaſt mean height that can be allowed them is two feet and a half, which, according to the calculation of Greaves himſelf, who counted two hundred and ſeven, will give five hundred and ſeventeen feet ſix inches in perpendicular height. —*Savary.*

219 *Aid of machines.*]—Mr. Greaves thinks that this account of Herodotus is full of difficulty. "How, in erecting and placing ſo many machines, charged with ſuch maſſy ſtones, and thoſe continually paſſing over the lower degrees, could it be avoided, but that they muſt either unſettle them, or endanger the breaking of ſome portions of them? Which mutilations would have been like ſcars in the face of ſo magnificent a building."

I own that I am of a different opinion from Mr. Greaves; for ſuch maſſy ſtones as Herodotus has deſcribed would not be diſcompoſed by an engine reſting upon them, and which, by the account of Herodus, I take to be only the pulley. The account that Diodorus gives of raiſing the ſtones by imaginary χωματων (heaps of earth) engines not being then, as he ſuppoſes, invented, is too abſurd to take notice of. And the deſcription that Herodotus has given, notwithſtanding all the objections that have been raiſed to it, and which have ariſen principally from miſrepreſenting him, appears to me very clear and ſenſible.—*Dr. Templeman's Notes to Norden.*

ſions

ſions in the aſcent of the pyramid, though in fact there might only be one, which being eaſily manageable, might be removed from one range of the building to another, as often as occaſion made it neceſſary: both modes have been told me, and I know not which beſt deſerves credit. The ſummit of the pyramid was firſt of all finiſhed[220], deſcending thence, they regularly completed the whole. Upon the outſide were inſcribed, in Ægyptian characters[221], the various ſums of money expended in the progreſs of the work, for the radiſhes, onions, and garlic conſumed by the artificers. This, as I well remember, my interpreter informed me, amounted to no leſs a ſum than one thouſand ſix hundred talents. If this be true, how much more muſt it have neceſſarily coſt for iron tools, food, and

220 *Firſt of all finiſhed.*]—The word in the text is εξεποιηθη, which Larcher has rendered "On commença revetir et perfectionner."

Great doubts have ariſen amongſt travellers and the learned, whether the pyramid was coated or not. Pliny tells us, that at Buſiris lived people who had the agility to mount to the top of the pyramid. If it was graduated by ſteps, little agility would be requiſite to do this; if regularly coated, it is hard to conceive how any agility could accompliſh it.

Norden ſays, that there is not the leaſt mark to be perceived to prove that the pyramid has been coated by marble.

Savary is of a contrary opinion: "That it was coated," ſays he, "is an inconteſtible fact, proved by the remains of mortar, ſtill found in ſeveral parts of the ſteps, mixed with fragments of white marble." Upon the whole, it ſeems more reaſonable to conclude that it was coated.—*T.*

221 *Ægyptian characters.*]—Probably in common characters, and not in hieroglyphics.—*Larcher.*

 clothes

clothes for the workmen, particularly when we consider the length of time they were employed in the building itſelf, adding what was ſpent in the hewing and conveyance of the ſtones, and the conſtruction of the ſubterraneous apartments?

CXXVI. Cheops having exhauſted his wealth, was ſo flagitious, that he proſtituted his daughter[222], commanding her to make the moſt of her perſon. She complied with her father's injunctions, but I was not told what ſum ſhe thus procured, at the ſame time ſhe took care to perpetuate the memory of herſelf; with which view ſhe ſolicited every one of her lovers to preſent her with a ſtone. With theſe it is reported the middle of the three pyramids[223], fronting the larger one, was conſtructed, the elevation of which on each ſide is one hundred and fifty feet.

CXXVII. According to the Ægyptians this

222 *Proſtituted his daughter.*]—This account of the king's proſtituting his daughter has been thought ſo full of horror, that many have doubted the truth of it; but we have had in our own country an inſtance of as horrid a crime in a huſband's proſtituting his wife merely for his diverſion.—See *State Trials, the Caſe of Mervin Lord Audley.*

223 *The middle of the three pyramids.*]—The acts of magnificence which the courteſans of antiquity were enabled to accompliſh from the produce of their charms, almoſt exceed belief. It is told of Lamia, the charming miſtreſs of Demetrius Poliorcetes, that ſhe erected at Sicyon a portico, ſo beautiful and ſuperb, that an author named Polemo wrote a book to deſcribe it.—See *Athenæus, and the Letters of Alciphron.*—*T.*

Cheops

Cheops reigned fifty years. His brother Chephren [224] succeeded to his throne, and adopted a similar conduct. He also built a pyramid, but this was less than his brother's, for I measured them both; it has no subterraneous chambers, nor any channel for the admission of the Nile, which in the other surrounds an island where the body of Cheops is said to be deposited [225]. Of this latter pyramid, the first ascent is entirely of Æthiopian marble of divers colours, but it is not so high as the larger pyramid, near which it stands, by forty feet. This Chephren reigned fifty-six years; the pyramid he built stands on the same hill with that erected by his brother: the hill itself is near one hundred feet high.

CXXVIII. Thus for the space of one hundred and six years were the Ægyptians exposed to every species of oppression and calamity, not having in all this period permission to worship in their temples. For the memory of these two monarchs they

224 *His brother Chephren.*]—Diodorus Siculus remarks, that some authors are of opinion, that it was not his brother who succeeded him, but his son Chabryis, or Chabryen. Probably, says M. Larcher, the same word differently written.

225 *Is said to be deposited.*]—The kings designed these pyramids for their sepulchres, yet it happened that their remains were not here deposited. The people were so exasperated against them, by the severe labours they had been compelled to endure, and were so enraged at the oppressive cruelty of their princes, that they threatened to take their bodies from their tombs, and cast them to the dogs. Both of them, therefore, when dying, ordered their attendants to bury them in some secret place.—*Diodorus Siculus.*

have so extreme an aversion, that they are not very willing to mention their names [226]. They call their pyramids by the name of the shepherd Philitis [227], who at that time fed his cattle in those places.

CXXIX. Mycerinus, the son of Cheops, succeeded Chephren: as he evidently disapproved of his father's conduct, he commanded the temples to be opened, and the people, who had been reduced to the extremest affliction, were again permitted to offer sacrifice at the shrines of their gods. He excelled all that went before him in his administration of justice. The Ægyptians revere his memory beyond that of all his predecessors, not only for the equity of his decisions [228], but because, if complaint was

226 *Mention their names.*]—Part of the punishment annexed in France to high-treason, and other enormous offences, is the irrevocable extinction of the family name of the convicted persons.

This is probably the reason, observes M. Larcher, why historians are so much divided in opinion concerning the names of the princes who erected the pyramids.—*T.*

227 *Philitis.*]—Some of the pyramids in Ægypt were styled the pyramids of the shepherd Philitis, and were said to have been built by people whom the Ægyptians held in abomination; from whence we may form a judgment of the persons by whom these edifices were erected. Many hills and places of reputed sanctity were denominated from shepherds. Caucasus, in the vicinity of Colchis, had its name conferred by Jupiter, in memory of Caucasus, a shepherd. Mount Cithæron, in Bœotia, was called Asterius, but received the former name from one Cithæron, a shepherd, supposed to have been there slain.—*Bryant.*

228 *Equity of his decisions.*]—It appears, as well from this paragraph

was ever made of his conduct as a judge, he condescended to remove and redress the injury [229]. Whilst Mycerinus thus distinguished himself by his exemplary conduct to his subjects, he lost his daughter and only child, the first misfortune he experienced. Her death excessively afflicted him; and wishing to honour her funeral with more than ordinary splendour, he enclosed her body in an heifer [230] made of wood, and richly ornamented with gold [231].

CXXX.

ragraph as the remainder of the chapter, that the kings administered justice to their subjects in person. It is not, therefore, very easy to see what could induce M. Paw to assert that the sovereigns of Ægypt had not the power of deciding in any civil cause.—*Larcher.*

229 *Redress the injury.*]—Diodorus Siculus relates the same fact; and says, that he expended large sums of money in making compensation to such as he thought injured by judicial decisions. —*T.*

230 *In an heifer.*]—The Patrica were not only rites of Mithres, but also of Osiris, who was in reality the same deity. We have a curious inscription to this purpose, and a representation which was first exhibited by the learned John Price, in his observations upon Apuleius. It is copied from an original which he saw at Venice, and there is an engraving from it in the edition of Herodotus by Gronovius, as well as in that by Wesseling, but about the purport of it they are strangely mistaken. They suppose it to relate to a daughter of Mycerinus, the son of Cheops. She died, it seems, and her father was so affected with her death, that he made a bull of wood, which he gilt, and in it interred his daughter. Herodotus says that he saw the bull of Mycerinus, and that it alluded to this history. But notwithstanding the authority of this great author, we may be assured, that it was an emblematical representation, and an image of the sacred bull, Apis and Mnevis.—*Bryant.*

231 *Gold.*]—The prophet Isaiah threatening the people of Is-

CXXX. This heifer was not buried; it remained even to my time in the palace of Sais, placed in a ſuperb hall. Every day coſtly aromatics were burnt before it, and every night it was ſplendidly illuminated; in an adjoining apartment are depoſited ſtatues of the different concubines of Mycerinus, as the prieſts of Sais informed me. Theſe are to the number of twenty, they are coloſſal figures, made of wood, and in a nâked ſtate, but what women they are intended to repreſent, I preſume not to determine: I merely relate what I was told.

CXXXI. Of this heifer, and theſe coloſſal figures, there are ſome who ſpeak thus: Mycerinus, they ſay, conceived an unnatural paſſion for his daughter, and offered violence to her perſon. She having, in the anguiſh of her mind, ſtrangled herſelf, her father buried her in the manner we have deſcribed. The mother cut off the hands of thoſe female attendants who aſſiſted the king in his deſigns upon his daughter, and therefore theſe figures are marked by the ſame imperfections as diſtinguiſhed the perſons they repreſent when alive. The whole of this

rael for their blind confidence in Ægypt, ſays, "Ye ſhall defile alſo the covering of thy graven images of ſilver, and the ornaments of thy molten images of gold." Winkelmann, ſpeaking of the antiquity of art in Ægypt, ſays, "Les figures taillées originairement en bois, et les ſtatues jettées en fonte, ont toutes leur denomination particuliére dans la langue Hebraïque: par la ſuite des tems les premieres furent dorées ou revêtues de lames d'or."—*T.*

ſtory [232], and that in particular which relates to the hands of theſe figures, to me ſeems very prepoſterous. I myſelf ſaw the hands lying on the ground, merely, as I thought, from the effect of time.

CXXXII. The body of this heifer is covered with a purple cloth [233], whilſt the head and neck are very richly gilt: betwixt the horns there is a golden ſtar, it is made to recline on its knees, and is about the ſize of a large cow. Every year it is brought from its apartment; at the period when the Ægyptians flagellate themſelves in honour of a certain god, whom it does not become me to name, this heifer is produced to the light: it was the requeſt, they ſay, of the dying princeſs to her father, that ſhe might once every year behold the ſun.

CXXXIII. Mycerinus after the above met with a ſecond calamity; an oracle from the city Butos informed him that he ſhould live ſix years, but die in the ſeventh; the intelligence aſtoniſhed him, and he ſent a meſſage in return to reproach the god-

232 *The whole of this ſtory.*]—In the old verſion of Herodotus before quoted, this paſſage is rendered thus: "But this is as true as the man in the moone, for that a man with halfe an eye may clearely perceive that their hands fel off for very age, by reaſon that the wood, through long continuance of time, was ſpaked and periſhed."—*Herodotus his ſecond Booke entituled Euterpe.*

233 *With a purple cloth.*]—"The Ægyptians," ſays Plutarch, "have a cuſtom in the month Athyr, of ornamenting a golden image of a bull, which they cover with a black robe of the fineſt linen. This they do in commemoration of Iſis, and her grief for the loſs of Orus."

defs [234] with injuſtice; for that his father and his uncle, who had been injurious to mankind, and impious to the gods, had enjoyed each a length of life of which he was to be deprived, who was diſtinguiſhed for his piety. The reply of the oracle told him, that his early death was the conſequence of the conduct for which he commended himſelf; he had not fulfilled the purpoſe of the fates, who had decreed that for the ſpace of one hundred and fifty years Ægypt ſhould be oppreſſed; of which determination the two preceding monarchs had been aware, but he had not. As ſoon as Mycerinus knew that his deſtiny was immutable, he cauſed an immenſe number of lamps to be made, by the light of which, when evening approached, he paſſed his hours in the feſtivity of the banquet [235]: he frequented by day and by night the groves and ſtreams, and whatever places he thought productive of delight: by this method of changing night into day, and apparently multiplying his ſix years into twelve, he thought to convict the oracle of falſehood.

CXXXIV. This prince alſo built a pyramid [236], but

234 *To reproach the goddeſs.*]—Inſtead of τῳ θεῳ Valcnaer propoſes to read τῃ θεῳ: "No god," ſays he, "had an oracle at Butos, but the goddeſs called by the Greeks Latona, the nurſe of Apollo the ſon of Iſis, who had an oracle at Butos held in the higheſt eſtimation."—*T.*

235 *Of the banquet.*]—Ælian records many examples ſimilar to this of Mycerinus, in his Various Hiſtory, book ii. chap. 41.

236 *Built a pyramid.*]—"If," ſays Diodorus Siculus, ſpeaking

but it was not by twenty feet ſo high as his father's; it was a regular ſquare on every ſide, three hundred feet in height, and as far as the middle of Æthiopian ſtone. Some of the Greeks erroneouſly believe this to have been erected by Rhodopis [237] the courteſan, but they do not ſeem to me even to know who this Rhodopis was; if they had, they never could have aſcribed to her the building of a pyramid produced at the expence of ſeveral thou-

ing of this pyramid, "it is leſs in ſize and extent than the others, it is ſuperior to them in the coſtlineſs of the materials, and excellence of the workmanſhip."—*T.*

[237] *Rhodopis.*]—The following account of this Rhodopis is from Strabo.

It is ſaid that this pyramid was erected by the lovers of Rhodopis, by Sappho called Doricha: ſhe was the miſtreſs of her brother Charaxus, who carried to Naucratis Leſbian wine, in which article he dealt; others call her Rhodope. It is reported of her, that one day when ſhe was in the bath, an eagle ſnatched one of her ſlippers from an attendant, and carried it to Memphis. The king was then ſitting in his tribunal; the eagle, ſettling above his head, let fall the ſlipper into his boſom: the prince, aſtoniſhed at this ſingular event, and at the ſmallneſs of the ſlipper, ordered a ſearch to be made through the country for the female to whom it belonged. Having found her at Naucratis, ſhe was preſented to the king, who made her his wife: when ſhe died ſhe was buried in the manner we have deſcribed.

Diodorus Siculus ſays, that this pyramid was believed to have been erected to the memory of Rhodopis, at the expence of ſome governors who had been her admirers.

Perizonius, in his notes on Ælian, ſays, that there were two of this name; one a courteſan, who afterwards became the wife of Pſammitichus; the other the fellow-ſlave of Æſop, who lived in the time of Amaſis.—*T.*

ſand

ſand talents [238]: beſides this, Rhodopis lived at a different period, in the time, not of Mycerinus, but Amaſis, and was many years after the monarchs who erected the pyramids. Rhodopis was born in Thrace, the ſlave of Iadmon, the ſon of Hephæſtopolis the Samian: ſhe was the fellow-ſervant of Æſop, who wrote fables [239], and was alſo the

238 *Several thouſand talents.*]—Demetrius Poliorcetes compelled the Athenians to raiſe him immediately the ſum of two hundred and fifty talents, which he ſent to his miſtreſs Lamia, ſaying it was for ſoap. When I inform the reader that ſhe ſpent this immenſe ſum in a feaſt given to her lord, what is here related of Rhodopis may ſeem leſs incredible.—*T.*

239 *Æſop, who wrote fables.*]—This name is ſo familiar, that it may at firſt ſight ſeem ſuperfluous and inconſiſtent to ſay any thing on the ſubject; but poſſibly every Engliſh reader may not know, that the fables which go under his name were certainly not of his compoſition; indeed but little concerning him can be aſcertained as fact. Plutarch aſſures us, that Crœſus ſent Æſop to the oracle of Delphi; that Æſop and Solon were together at the court of Crœſus; that the inhabitants of Delphi put him to death, and afterwards made atonement to his memory; and finally, Socrates verſified his fables. Plato, who would not admit Homer into his commonwealth, gave Æſop an honourable place in them, at leaſt ſuch is the expreſſion of Fontaine.

It remains to do away one abſurd and vulgar prejudice concerning him. Modern painters and artiſts have thought proper to repreſent Bacchus as a groſs, vulgar, and bloated perſonage; on the contrary, all the ancient poets and artiſts repreſented him as a youth of moſt exquiſite beauty. A ſimilar error has prevailed with reſpect to Æſop; that it is an error, Bentley's reaſoning muſt be very ſatisfactory to whoever gives it the attention which it merits. "In Plato's feaſt," ſays he, "they are very merry upon Socrates's face, which reſembled old Silenus. Æſop was one of the gueſts, but nobody preſumes to

the ſlave of Iadmon; all which may be thus eaſily proved: The Delphians, in compliance with the directions of the oracle, had deſired publicly to know if any one required atonement to be made for the death of Æſop; but none appeared to do this, except a grandſon of Iadmon, bearing the ſame name.

CXXXV. Rhodopis was firſt carried to Ægypt by Xanthus of Samos, whoſe view was to make money by her perſon. Her liberty was purchaſed for an immenſe ſum by Charaxus [240] of Mytilene, ſon

to jeſt on his uglineſs." Philoſtratus has given, in two books, a deſcription of a gallery of pictures; one is Æſop, with a chorus of animals about him; he is painted ſmiling and looking thoughtfully on the ground, but not a word on his deformity: the Athenians erected a ſtatue in his honour. If he had been deformed, continues Bentley, a ſtatue had been no more than a monument of his uglineſs, it would have been kinder to his memory to have let it alone. But after all, the ſtrongeſt argument to prove that he was not of a diſagreeable form, is that he muſt have been ſold into Samos by a trader in ſlaves. It is well known that theſe people brought up the moſt handſome youths they could procure. If we may judge of him from his companion and contubernalis, we muſt believe him a comely perſon. Rhodopis was the greateſt beauty of her age, even to a proverb—απανθ' ομοια ϗ Ροδωπις ἡ καλή.

The compilers of the Encyclopædia Britannica have given into the vulgar error, and ſcruple not to pronounce Æſop a perſon of ſtriking deformity.—*T.*

[240] *Charaxus.*]—Sappho had two other brothers, Eurygius and Larychus, or rather Larichus, as it is written in Athenæus, the Dorians being partial to terminations in *ichos*.—*Larcher.*

Athenæus aſſerts, that the courteſan of Naucratis, beloved by

ſon of Scamandronymus, and brother of Sappho the poeteſs: thus becoming free, ſhe afterwards continued in Ægpyt, where her beauty procured her conſiderable wealth, though by no means adequate to the conſtruction of ſuch a pyramid; the tenth part of her riches whoever pleaſes may even now aſcertain, and they will not be found ſo great as has been repreſented. Wiſhing to perpetuate her name in Greece, ſhe contrived what had never before been imagined, as an offering for the Delphic temple: ſhe ordered a tenth part of her property to be expended in making a number of iron ſpits, each large enough to roaſt an ox; they were ſent to Delphi, where they are now to be ſeen [241] behind the altar preſented by the Chians. The courteſans of Naucratis [242] are generally beautiful; ſhe of whom we ſpeak was ſo univerſally celebrated that

by Charaxus, and ſatiriſed by Sappho, was called Dorica. The ſame author adds, that Herodotus calls her Rhodopis from ignorance; but the opinion of Herodotus is confirmed by Strabo.—*Larcher.*

241 *Where they are now to be ſeen.*]—They were not to be ſeen in the time of Plutarch; in his tract aſſigning the reaſons why the Pythian ceaſed to deliver her oracles in verſe, Braſidias, whoſe office it was to ſhew the curioſities of the place, points out the place where they formerly ſtood.—*T.*

242 *The courteſans of Naucratis.*]—"Howbeit ſuch arrant honeſt women as are fiſhe for everye man, have in no place the like credite as in the city of Naucrates. Forſomuch as this ſtalant of whom we ſpeake, had her fame ſo bruted in all places, as almoſt there was none in Greece that had not heard of the fame of Rhodope; after whome there ſprang up alſo another as good as ever ambled, by name Archidice, &c."—*Herodotus his ſecond booke, entituled Euterpe.*

her

her name is familiar to every Greek. There was alſo another courteſan, named Archidice [243], well known in Greece, though of leſs repute than Rhodopis. Charaxus, after giving Rhodopis her liberty, returned to Mytilene, and was ſeverely handled [244] by Sappho in ſome ſatirical verſes:—but enough has been ſaid on this ſubject.

CXXXVI. After Mycerinus, as the prieſts informed me, Aſychis reigned in Ægypt; he erected the eaſt entrance to the temple of Vulcan, which is far the greateſt and moſt magnificent. Each of the above-mentioned veſtibules is elegantly adorned with ſculpture, and with paintings, but this is ſuperior to them all. In this reign, when commerce was checked and injured from the extreme want of money, an ordinance paſſed, that any one

[243] *Archidice.*]—Of this courteſan the following anecdote is related by Ælian: She demanded a great ſum of money of a young man who loved her; the bargain broke off, and the lover withdrew re infectâ: he dreamed in the night that he lay with the woman, which cured his paſſion. Archidice, on learning this, pretended that the young man ought to pay her, and ſummoned him before the judges: the judge ordered the man to pu the ſum of money required in a purſe, and to move it ſo that its ſhadow might fall on Archidice; his meaning was, that the young man's pleaſure was but the ſhadow of a real one. The celebrated Lamia condemned this deciſion as unjuſt; the ſhadow of the purſe, ſhe obſerved, had not cured the courteſan's paſſion for the money, whereas the dream had cured the young man's paſſion for the woman.

[244] *Severely handled.*]—The Greek word μιν may apply either to Charaxus or Rhodopis; the application appears moſt obvious to the former.—*T.*

might

might borrow money, giving the body of his father as a pledge; by this law the ſepulchre of the debtor became in the power of the creditor; for if the debt was not diſcharged he could neither be buried with his family, nor in any other vault, nor was he ſuffered to inter one of his deſcendants. This prince, deſirous of ſurpaſſing all his predeceſſors, left as a monument of his fame a pyramid of brick, with this inſcription on a piece of marble.—"Do not diſparage my worth by comparing "me to thoſe pyramids compoſed of ſtone; I am "as much ſuperior to them as Jove is to the reſt "of the deities; I am formed of bricks [245], which "were made of mud adhering to poles drawn "from the bottom of the lake."—This was the moſt memorable of this king's actions.

CXXXVII. He was ſucceeded by an inhabitant of Anyſis, whoſe name was Anyſis, and who

[245] *Formed of bricks.*]—Mr. Greaves aſſerts, that all the pyramids were made of ſtone, of courſe he did not penetrate far enough into Ægypt to ſee the one here mentioned; it is ſituated about four leagues from Cairo, and is noticed both by Norden and Pococke.—*T.*

As to what concerns the works on which the Iſraelites were employed in Ægypt, I admit that I have not been able to find any ruins of bricks burnt in the fire. There is indeed a wall of that kind which is ſunk very deep in the ground, and is very long, near to the pyramids, and adjoining to the bridges of the Saracens, that are ſituated in the plain; but it appears too modern to think that the bricks of which it is formed were made by the Iſraelites. All that I have ſeen elſewhere of brick building, is compoſed of the large kind of bricks hardened in the ſun, ſuch as thoſe of the brick pyramid.—*Norden.*

was blind. In his reign Sabacus[246] king of Æthiopia overran Ægypt with a numerous army; Anyſis fled to the moraſſes, and ſaved his life, but Sabacus continued maſter of Ægypt for the ſpace of fifty years. Whilſt he retained his authority, he made it a rule not to puniſh any crime with death, but according to the magnitude of the offence he condemned the criminal to raiſe the ground near the place to which he belonged; by which means the ſituation of the different cities became more and more elevated: they were ſomewhat raiſed under the reign of Seſoſtris by the digging of the canals, but they became ſtill more ſo under the reign of the Æthiopian. This was the caſe with all the cities of Ægypt, but more particularly with the city of Bubaſtis. There is in this city a temple, which well deſerves our attention; there may be others larger as well as more ſplendid, but none which have a more delightful ſituation. Bubaſtis in Greek is ſynonymous with Artemis or Diana[247].

246 *Sabacus.*]—This event happened in the beginning of the reign of Hezekiah. Prideaux, on the authority of Syncellus, ſays he took Bocchoris, and burnt him alive; but it is more generally believed that Bocchoris was anterior to Sabacus: this laſt is the perſon mentioned in the book of Kings, by the name of So.—*T.*

247 *Artemis or Diana.*]—Bubaſtis was a virgin, preſided at childbirths, and was the ſymbol of the moon. This reſemblance with their Diana cauſed the Greeks to name her the Diana of the Ægyptians: yet the ſimilitude was far from perfect, for with the latter ſhe was not the goddeſs of the mountains, the woods, and the chace. This difference probably cauſed Juvenal to ſay,

Oppida tota canem venerantur, nemo Dianam.—*Larcher.*

CXXXVIII.

CXXXVIII. This temple, taking away the entrance, forms an iſland; two branches of the Nile meet at the entrance of the temple, and then ſeparating flow on each ſide entirely round it; each of theſe branches is one hundred feet wide, and regularly ſhaded with trees; the veſtibule is forty cubits high, and ornamented with various figures, none of which are leſs than ſix cubits. The temple is in the centre of the town, and in every part a conſpicuous object; its ſituation has never been altered, though every other part of the city has been elevated; a wall ornamented with ſculpture ſurrounds the building; in the interior part a grove of lofty trees ſhades the temple, in the centre of which is the ſtatue of the goddeſs: the length and breadth of the temple each way is one ſtadium. There is a paved way which leads through the public ſquare of the city, from the entrance of this temple to that of Mercury [248], which is about thirty ſtadia in length.

CXXXIX.

[248] *Mercury.*]—The Ægyptian Mercury was named Thoth or Theuth. Thoth with the Ægyptians was the inventor of the ſciences; and as Mercury with the Greeks preſided over the ſciences, this laſt people called Thoth in their tongue by the name of Hermes or Mercury: they had alſo given the name of Mercury to Anubis, on account of ſome fancied ſimilitude betwixt thoſe deities. "It is not," ſays Plutarch, "a dog properly ſo called, which they revere under the name of Mercury, it is his vigilance and fidelity, the inſtinct which teaches him to diſtinguiſh a friend from an enemy, that which (to uſe the expreſſion of Plato) makes this animal a ſuitable emblem to the god the immediate patron of reaſon."

Servius on Virgil has a remark to the ſame effect.—*Larcher.*

This

CXXXIX. The deliverance of Ægypt from the Æthiopian was, as they told me, effected by a vision, which induced him to leave the country: a person appeared to him in a dream, advising him to assemble all the priests of Ægypt, and afterwards cut them in pieces. This vision to him seemed to demonstrate, that in consequence of some act of impiety, which he was thus tempted to perpetrate, his ruin was at hand, from heaven or from man. Determined not to do this deed, he conceived it more prudent to withdraw himself; particularly as the time of his reigning over Ægypt was, according to the declarations of the oracles, now to terminate. During his former residence in Æthiopia, the oracles of his country [249] had told him, that he should reign fifty years over Ægypt: this period being accomplished, he was so terrified by the vision, that he voluntarily withdrew himself.

This deity also with the Romans was esteemed the patron of arts, and the protector of learned men. See the ode addressed to him by Horace, beginning with

> Mercuri, nam te docilis magistro
> Movit Amphion lapides canendo
> Tuque testudo resonare septem
> Callida nervis, &c.

Where he is not only represented as the patron, but the teacher of music. Learned men also were called Viri Mercuriales.

> Nisi Faunus ictum
> Dextra levasset, Mercurialium
> Custos virorum.—*Horace.* T.

249 *The oracles of his country.*]—The oracles in Æthiopia were the oracles of Jupiter.—*T.*

CXL. Immediately on his departure [250] from Ægypt, the blind prince quitted his place of refuge, and resumed the government: he had resided for the period of fifty years in a solitary island, which he himself had formed of ashes and of earth. He directed those Ægyptians who frequented his neighbourhood for the purpose of disposing of their corn, to bring with them, unknown to their Æthiopian master, ashes for his use. Amyrtæus was the first person who discovered this island, which all the princes who reigned during the space of seven hundred years [251] before Amyrtæus were unable to do: it is called Elbo, and is on each side ten stadia in length.

CXLI. The successor of this prince was Sethos, a priest of Vulcan [252]; he treated the military of Ægypt

[250] *On his departure.*]—Diodorus Siculus says, that after the departure of Sabacus there was an anarchy of two years, which was succeeded by the reign of twelve kings, who at their joint expence constructed the labyrinth.

[251] *Seven hundred years.*]—M. Larcher is of opinion, that this is a mistake, crept into the manuscript of Herodotus from a confusion of the numeral letters by copyists.—*T.*

[252] *Priest of Vulcan.*]—The following account is given by M. Larcher, from Plato, Plutarch, and Diodorus Siculus.

A prince cannot reign in Ægypt if he be ignorant of sacred affairs. If an individual of any other class comes accidentally to the crown, he must be immediately admitted of the sacerdotal order. "The kings," says Plutarch, "must be either of the order of priests or soldiers, these two classes being distinguished, the one by their wisdom, the other by their valour."—When they have chosen a warrior for king, he is instantly admitted

Ægypt with extreme contempt, and as if he had no occasion for their services. Among other indignities, he deprived them of their aruræ[235], or fields of fifty feet square, which, by way of reward, his predecessors had given each soldier: the result was, that when Senacherib, king of Arabia and Assyria, attacked Ægypt with a mighty army, the warriors, whom he had thus treated refused to assist him. In this perplexity the priest retired to the shrine of his god, before which he lamented his danger and misfortunes: here he sunk into a profound sleep, and his deity promised him in a dream, that if he marched to meet the Assyrians he should experience no injury, for that he would furnish him with assistance. The vision inspired him with confidence; he put himself at the head of his adherents, and marched to Pelusium, the entrance of Ægypt: not

mitted into the order of priests, who instruct him in their mysterious philosophy. The priests may censure the prince, give him advice, and regulate his actions. By them is fixed the time when he may walk, bathe, or visit his wife.

"Such privileges as the above," says M. Larcher, "must necessarily inspire them with contempt for the rest of the nation, and must have excited a spirit of disgust in a people not blinded by superstition." Sethos however experienced how dangerous it was to follow the maxims of the priesthood only.

253 *Aruræ.*]—Arura is a Greek word, which signifies literally a field ploughed for corn, and is sometimes used for the corn itself. It was also an Ægyptian measure. "Ægypt," says Strabo, "was divided into præfectures, which again were divided into Toparchiæ, and these into other portions, the smallest of which were termed αρθραι." Suidas says it was a measure of fifty feet: from this word is derived *arvum, aro,* &c.—*See Hoffman on this word.*

a ſoldier accompanied the party, which was entirely compoſed of tradeſmen [254] and artizans. On their arrival at Peluſium, ſo immenſe a number of mice [255] infeſted by night the enemy's camp, that their quivers and bows, together with what ſecured their ſhields to their arms, were gnawed in pieces. In the morning the Arabians, finding themſelves without arms, fled in confuſion, and loſt great numbers of their men. There is now to be ſeen in the temple of Vulcan a marble ſtatue of this king,

254 *Tradeſmen.*]—The Ægyptians were divided into three claſſes; thoſe of rank, who with the prieſts occupied the moſt diſtinguiſhed honours of the ſtate; the military, who were alſo huſbandmen; and artizans, who exerciſed the meaner employments. The above is from Diodorus Siculus, who ſpeaks probably of the three principal diviſions: Herodotus mentions ſeven claſſes.—*Larcher.*

255 *Immenſe a number of mice.*]—The Babyloniſh Talmud hath it that this deſtruction upon the army of the Aſſyrians was executed by lightning, and ſome of the Targums are quoted for ſaying the ſame thing: but it ſeemeth moſt likely, that it was effected by bringing on them the hot wind, which is frequent in thoſe parts, and often when it lights among a multitude deſtroys great numbers of them in a moment, as it frequently happens in thoſe vaſt caravans of the Mahometans who go their annual pilgrimages to Mecca; and the words of Iſaiah, which theatened Senacherib with a blaſt that God would ſend upon him, ſeem to denote this thing.

Herodotus gives us ſome kind of a diſguiſed account of this deliverance from the Aſſyrians, in a fabulous application of it to the city of Peluſium, inſtead of Jeruſalem, and to Sethos the Ægyptian, inſtead of Hezekiah.

It is particularly to be remarked, that Herodotus calls the king of Aſſyria Senacherib as the ſcriptures do, and the time in both doth alſo well agree; which plainly ſhews that it is the ſame

king, having a mouſe in his hand, and with this inſcription: "Whoever thou art, learn from my fortune to reverence the gods."

CXLII. Thus, according to the information of the Ægyptians and their prieſts, from the firſt king to this laſt, who was prieſt of Vulcan, a period of three hundred and forty-one generations had paſſed, in which there had been as many high prieſts, and the ſame number of kings. Three generations are equal to one hundred years, and therefore three hundred generations are the ſame as ten thouſand years; the forty-one generations that remain make one thouſand three hundred and forty years. During the above ſpace of eleven thouſand three hundred and forty years, they aſſert that no divinity appeared in a human form; but they do not ſay the ſame of the time anterior to this account,

ſame fact that is referred to by Herodotus, although much diſguiſed in the relation; which may be eaſily accounted for, when we conſider that it comes to us through the hands of ſuch as had the greateſt averſion both to the nation and to the religion of the Jews, and therefore would relate nothing in ſuch a manner as would give reputation to either.—*Prideaux's Connection.*

M. Larcher, in a note of five pages on the above, ſays little more than our countryman, except that he adopts, with reſpect to the deſtruction of the army of Senacherib, the opinion of Joſephus, whoſe words are theſe:

"Senacherib, on his return from the Ægyptian war, found his army, which he had left under Rabſheketh, almoſt quite deſtroyed by a judicial peſtilence, which ſwept away, in officers and common ſoldiers, the firſt night they ſat down before the city, one hundred eighty-five thouſand men."—*T.*

or of that of the kings who reigned afterwards. During the above period of time the ſun, they told me, had four times deviated from his ordinary courſe, having twice riſen where he uniformly goes down, and twice gone down where he uniformly riſes. This however had produced no alteration in the climate of Ægypt; the fruits of the earth, and the phænomena of the Nile, had always been the ſame, nor had any extraordinary or fatal diſeaſes occurred.

CXLIII. When the hiſtorian Hecatæus [256] was at

[256] *When the hiſtorian Hecatæus.*]—Athenæus relates the ſame circumſtance as from Hecatæus, which may ſerve to confirm the aſſertion of Porphyry, that Herodotus took great part of his ſecond book, with very ſlight alteration, from Hecatæus. If this fact be once allowed, Herodotus will loſe the character that he has long ſupported, of an honeſt man, and a faithful hiſtorian. But it appears from Athenæus himſelf, that the work which in later ages paſſed under the name of Hecatæus the Mileſian, was not univerſally acknowledged for genuine; and Callimachus, who employed much of his time and pains in diſtinguiſhing genuine from ſpurious authors, attributes the ſuppoſed work of Hecatæus to another and a later writer. But what is perhaps even a ſtronger proof in our author's favour is, that he is never charged with the crime of theft by Plutarch, whoſe knowledge of this plagiariſm, if it had ever exiſted, cannot be queſtioned, when we conſider his extenſive and accurate learning; and whoſe zeal to diſcover it cannot be doubted, when we reflect that he has witten a treatiſe expreſsly to prove the malignity of Herodotus, though in fact it only proves his own. Could Plutarch miſs ſuch an opportunity of taxing Herodotus? Could he have failed of ſaying, that this hiſtorian was at once ſo malicious and ſo ungrateful as to ſpeak with diſreſpect and contempt of the author to

at Thebes, he recited to the priests of Jupiter the particulars of his descent, and endeavoured to prove that he was the sixteenth in a right line from some god. They addressed him in reply, as they afterwards did myself, who had said nothing on the subject of my family. They introduced me into a spacious temple, and displayed to me a number of figures in wood; this number I have before specified, for every high priest places here during his life a wooden figure of himself. The priests enumerated them before me, and proved, as they ascended from the last to the first, that the son followed the father in regular succession. When Hecatæus, in the explanation of his genealogy, ascended regularly, and traced his descent in the sixteenth line from a god, they opposed a similar mode of reasoning to his, and absolutely denied the possibility of a human being's descent from a god. They informed him that each of these colossal

to whom he was obliged for a considerable portion of his own history?

Our materials for an account of Hecatæus are at best but scanty. He was a native of Miletus, and son of one Ægisander; he was one of the very first writers of prose, with Cadmus and Pherecydes of Scyros. Salmasius contends that he was older than Pherecydes, but younger than Eumelus. The most ample account of him is found in Vossius. He certainly wrote a book of genealogies; and the sentence with which he commences his history is preserved in Demetrius Phalereus: it is to this effect, "What follows is the recital of Hecatæus of Miletus; I write what seems to me to be true. The Greeks in my opinion have related many things contradictory and ridiculous."—*T.*

figures was a Piromis [257], defcended from a Piromis; and they further proved, that without any variation this had uniformly occurred to the number of the three hundred and forty-one, but in this whole feries there was no reference either to a god or a hero. Piromis in the Ægyptian language means one "beautiful and good."

CXLIV. From thefe priefts I learned, that the individuals whom thefe figures reprefented, fo far from poffeffing any divine attributes, had all been what we have defcribed. But in the times which preceded, immortal beings [258] had reigned in Ægypt, that

257 *Piromis.*]—There are many ftrange and contradictory opinions about this paffage, which, if I do not deceive myfelf, is very plain, and the purport of it this:—"After the fabulous accounts, there had been an uninterrupted fucceffion of Piromis after Piromis, and the Ægyptians referred none of thefe to the dynafties of either the gods or heroes, who were fuppofed firft to have poffeffed the country."—From hence I think it is manifeft that Piromis fignifies a man.—*Bryant.*

M. Lacroze obferves, that Brama, which the Indians of Malabar pronounce Biroumas, in the Sanfcreet or facred language of India, fignifies the fame as Piromis; and that Piromia, in the language of the inhabitants of Ceylon, means alfo at this day a man. Quære, is this fimilitude the effect of chance, or of the conquefts of Sefoftris, who left colonies in various parts of Afia?—*Larcher.*

258 *Immortal beings.*]—M. Larcher fays, that all governments were at firft theocratic, and afterwards became monarchic and democratic. In the theocratic form the priefts governed alone who alfo preferved a confiderable influence in monarchies and republics. What prevents our fuppofing that Ægypt was governed

that they had communication with men, and had uniformly one superior; that Orus[259], whom the Greeks call Apollo, was the last of these; he was the son of Osiris, and after he had expelled Typhon[60], himself succeeded to the throne: it is also

verned many thousand years by priests; and that this government, in reality theocratic, was named from that deity to whom the high priest who enjoyed the sovereign authority attached himself?

259 *Orus.*]—According to Plutarch, the Ægyptians held two principles, one good, the other evil. The good principle consisted of three persons, father, mother, and son; Osiris was the father, Isis the mother, and Orus the son. The bad principle was Typhon: Osiris, strictly speaking, was synomymous with reason; Typhon the passions, αλογος, without reason.—*T.*

The notion of a Trinity, more or less removed from the purity of the Christian faith, is found to have been a leading principle in all the ancient schools of philosophy, and in the religions of almost all nations; and traces of an early popular belief of it appear even in the abominable rites of idolatrous worship. The worship of a Trinity is traced to an earlier age than that of Plato or Pythagoras, or even of Moses.—*Bishop Horsley.*

260 *Typhon.*]—Typhon, as the principle of evil, was always inclined to it; all bad passions, diseases, tempests, and earthquakes, were imputed to him. Like the untutored Indians and savages, the Ægyptians paid adoration to Typhon from fear; they consecrated to him the hippopotamos, the crocodile, and the ass. According to Jablonski, the word Typhon is derived from *Theu* a wind, and *phou* pernicious.

To Osiris is ascribed the introduction of the vine; "and where," says Mr. Bryant, "that was not adapted to the soil, he shewed the people the way to make wine of barley."—*T.*

The Greeks considered Osiris the same person as Bacchus, because they discovered a great resemblance between the fables related of Bacchus and the traditions of the Ægyptians concerning Osiris. Learned men of modern times have believed that

alſo to be obſerved, that in the Greek tongue Oſiris is ſynonymous with Bacchus.

CXLV. The Greeks conſider Hercules, Bacchus, and Pan, as the youngeſt of their deities: but Ægypt eſteems Pan as the moſt ancient of the gods, and even of thoſe eight [261] who are accounted the firſt. Hercules was among thoſe of the ſecond rank in point of antiquity, and one of thoſe called the twelve gods. Bacchus was of the third rank, and among thoſe whom the twelve produced. I have before ſpecified the number of years which the Ægyptians reckon from the time of Hercules to the reign of Amaſis: from the time of Pan a ſtill more diſtant period is reckoned; from Bacchus, the youngeſt of all, to the time of Amaſis, is a period, they ſay, of fifteen thouſand years. On this ſubject the Ægyptians have no doubts, for they

that Iſuren, one of the three divinities to whom the Indians now pay adoration, is the ancient Oſiris, but this remains to be proved.—*Larcher.*

[261] *Even of thoſe eight.*]—The ark, according to the traditions of the Gentile world, was prophetic, and was looked upon as a kind of temple or place of reſidence of the deity. In the compaſs of eight perſons it comprehended all mankind; which eight perſons were thought to be ſo highly favoured by heaven, that they were looked up to by their poſterity with great reverence, and came at laſt to be reputed deities. Hence in the ancient mythology of Ægypt there were preciſely eight gods; of theſe the ſun was chief, and was ſaid firſt to have reigned. Some made Hephaiſtus the firſt king of that country; whilſt others ſuppoſed it to have been Pan. There is no real inconſiſtency in theſe accounts, they were all three titles of the ſame deity, the ſun.—*Bryant.*

profeſs

profeſs to have always computed the years, and kept written accounts of them with the minuteſt accuracy. From Bacchus, who is ſaid to be the ſon of Semele, the daughter of Cadmus [262], to the preſent time is one thouſand ſix hundred years; from Hercules, the reputed ſon of Alcmena, is nine hundred years; and from Pan, whom the Greeks call the ſon of Penelope and Mercury, is eight hundred years, before which time was the Trojan war.

CXLVI. Upon this ſubject I have given my own opinion, leaving it to my readers to determine for themſelves. If theſe deities had been known in Greece, and then grown old, like Hercules the ſon of Amphitryon, Bacchus the ſon of Semele, and Pan the ſon of Penelope, it might have been aſſerted of them, that although mortals they poſſeſſed the names of thoſe deities known in Greece in the times which preceded. Of Bacchus the Greeks affirm, that as ſoon as he was born [263] Jove incloſed

[262] *Daughter of Cadmus.*]—The ſon of Cadmus is ſuppoſed to have lived at the time of the Trojan war; his daughter Semele is ſaid to have been ſixteen hundred years before Herodotus, by that writer's own account:—She was at this rate prior to the foundation of Argos, and many centuries before her father, near a thouſand years before her brother.—*Bryant.*

[263] *As ſoon as he was born.*]—Upon this ſubject I have ſomewhere met an opinion to the following effect: When the ancients ſpoke of the nativity of their gods, we are to underſtand the time in which their worſhip was firſt introduced; when mention is made of their marriage, reference is to be made to the time when the worſhip of one was connected with that of another. Some

closed him in his thigh, and carried him to Nysa, a town of Æthiopia beyond Ægypt: with regard to the nativity of Pan they have no tradition among them; from all which I am convinced, that these deities were the last known among the Greeks, and that they date the period of their nativity from the precise time that their names came amongst them; —the Ægyptians are of the same opinion.

CXLVII. I shall now give some account of the internal history of Ægypt; to what I learned from the natives themselves, and the information of strangers, I shall add what I myself beheld. At the death of their sovereign, the priest of Vulcan, the Ægyptians recovered their freedom; but as they could not live without kings, they chose twelve, among whom they divided the different districts of Ægypt. These princes connected themselves with each other by intermarriages, engaging solemnly to promote their common interest, and never to engage in any acts of separate policy. The principal motive of their union was to guard against

Some of the ancients speak of the tombs of their gods, and that of Jupiter in Crete was notorious, the solution of which is, that the gods sometimes appeared on earth, and after residing for a time amongst men, returned to their native skies; the period of their return was that of their supposed deaths.

The following remark is found in Cicero's Tusculan Questions: "Ipsi illi majorum gentium dii qui habentur hinc a nobis in cœlum profecti reperiuntur."—The gods of the popular religions were all but deceased mortals advanced from earth to heaven.—*T.*

the

the declaration of an oracle, which had ſaid, that whoever among them ſhould offer in the temple of Vulcan a libation from a brazen veſſel, ſhould be ſole ſovereign of Ægypt; and it is to be remembered that they aſſembled indifferently in every temple.

CXLVIII. It was the reſolution of them all, to leave behind them a common monument of their fame:—With this view, beyond the lake Mœris, near the city of crocodiles [264], they conſtructed a labyrinth [265], which exceeds I can truly ſay all that has

[264] *City of crocodiles.*]—We are ignorant of the real name of this city; it is very probable that it was called from the word Champſis, which according to our author was the Ægyptian term for crocodile.—*Larcher.*

[265] *A labyrinth.*]—Diodorus ſays this was built as a ſepulchre for Mendes; Strabo, that it was near the ſepulchre of the king that built it, which was probably Imandes. Pomponius Mela ſpeaks of it as built by Pſammitichus; but as Menes or Imandes is mentioned by ſeveral, poſſibly he might be one of the twelve kings of greateſt influence and authority, who might have the chief ordering and direction of this great building, and as a peculiar honour might have his ſepulchre apart from the others.

It was ſuch an extraordinary building, that it is ſaid Dædalus came to Ægypt on purpoſe to ſee it, and built the labyrinth in Crete for king Minos on the model of this. See a minute deſcription of the labyrinth and temple of the labyrinth by Pococke.

Amidſt the ruins of the town of Caroun, the attention is particularly fixed by ſeveral narrow, low, and very long cells, which ſeem to have had no other uſe than of containing the bodies of the ſacred crocodiles: theſe remai[illegible] [illegible]nly correſpond with the labyrinth. Strabo, Herodotus [illegible] [illegible]lemy, all agree in placing

has been ſaid of it; whoever will take the trouble to compare them, will find all the works of Greece much inferior to this, both in regard to the workmanſhip and expence. The temples of Epheſus and Samos may juſtly claim admiration, and the pyramids may individually be compared to many of the

placing the labyrinth beyond the city Arſinoe toward Libya, and on the bank of the lake Mœris, which is the preciſe ſituation of theſe ruins.

Strabo's account of this place does not exactly accord with that of Herodotus, but it confirms it in general: Strabo deſcribes winding and various paſſages ſo artfully contrived, that it was impoſſible to enter any one of the palaces, or to leave it when entered, without a guide.—*Savary.*

The architect who ſhould be employed to make a plan of the labyrinth, from the deſcription of Herodotus, would find himſelf greatly embarraſſed. We cannot form an idea of the parts which compoſed it; and as the apartments were then ſo differently formed from ours, what was not obſcure in the time of our author, is too much ſo for us at preſent. M. Larcher proceeds in an attempt to deſcribe its architecture; and informs the reader, that he conceives the courts muſt have been in the ſtyle of the hotel de Soubiſe.

There were anciently four celebrated labyrinths; one in Ægypt, a ſecond in Crete, a third at Lemnos, and a fourth erected by Porſenna in Tuſcany. That at Lemnos is deſcribed in very high terms by Pliny.

Labyrinth, in its original ſenſe, means any perplexed and twiſted place. Suidas adds λεγεται δε επι των φλυαρων, of prating ſilly people: in its figurative ſenſe it is applied to any obſcure or complicated queſtion, or to any argument which leaves us where we firſt ſet out.

The conſtruction of the labyrinth has been imputed to many different perſons, on which account the learned have ſuppoſed, that there were more labyrinths than one. That this was not the caſe is ſatisfactorily proved by Larcher in a very elaborate note.—*T.*

magnificent

magnificent ſtructures of Greece, but even theſe are inferior to the labyrinth. It is compoſed of twelve courts, all of which are covered; their entrances are oppoſite to each other, ſix to the north and ſix to the ſouth; one wall encloſes the whole; the apartments are of two kinds, there are fifteen hundred above the ſurface of the ground, and as many beneath, in all three thouſand. Of the former I ſpeak from my own knowledge and obſervation, of the latter from the information I received. The Ægyptians who had the care of the ſubterraneous apartments would not ſuffer me to ſee them, and the reaſon they alledged was, that in theſe were preſerved the ſacred crocodiles, and the bodies of the kings who conſtructed the labyrinth: of theſe therefore I preſume not to ſpeak; but the upper apartments I myſelf examined, and I pronounce them among the greateſt efforts of human induſtry and art. The almoſt infinite number of winding paſſages through the different courts, excited my warmeſt admiration: from ſpacious halls I paſſed through ſmaller apartments, and from them again to large and magnificent courts, almoſt without end. The ceilings and walls are all of marble, the latter richly adorned with the fineſt ſculpture; around each court are pillars of the whiteſt and moſt poliſhed marble: at the point where the labyrinth terminates ſtands a pyramid one hundred and ſixty cubits high, having large figures of animals engraved on its outſide, and the entrance to it is by a ſubterraneous path

CXLIX. Wonderful as this labyrinth is, the lake Mœris[266], near which it ſtands, is ſtill more extraordinary:

[266] *The lake Mœris.*]—That the reader may compare what modern writers and travellers have ſaid on this ſubject, I ſhall place before them, from Larcher, Pococke, Norden, Savary, &c. what to me ſeems moſt worthy of attention.

I ſhall firſt remark, that Herodotus, Diodorus, and Pomponius Mela, differ but little in opinion concerning its extent: according to the former it was four hundred and fifty miles in circumference, the latter ſays it was five hundred; the former aſſert alſo that in ſome places it was three hundred feet deep. The deſign of it was probably to hinder the Nile from overflowing the country too much, which was effected by drawing off ſuch a quantity of water, when it was apprehended that there might be an inundation ſufficient to hurt the land. The water, Pococke obſerves, is of a diſagreeable muddy taſte, and almoſt as ſalt as the ſea, which quality it probably contracts from the nitre that is in the earth, and the ſalt which is every year left in the mud.

The circumference of the lake at preſent is no more than fifty leagues. Larcher ſays we muſt diſtinguiſh betwixt the lake itſelf, and the canal of communication from the Nile; that the former was the work of nature, the latter of art. This canal, a moſt ſtupendous effort of art, is ſtill entire; it is called Bahr Youſoph, the river of Joſeph, according to Savary forty leagues in length. There were two other canals with ſluices at their mouths, from the lake to the river, which were alternately ſhut and opened when the Nile increaſed or decreaſed. This work united every advantage, and ſupplied the deficiencies of a low inundation, by retaining water which would uſeleſsly have been expended in the ſea. It was ſtill more beneficial when the increaſe of the Nile was too great, by receiving that ſuperfluity which would have prevented ſeed-time.

Were the canal of Joſeph cleanſed, the ancient mounds repaired, and the ſluices reſtored, this lake might again ſerve the ſame purpoſes.—The pyramids deſcribed by Herodotus no [illegible]ger ſubſiſt, neith[illegible] are [illegible]ey mentioned by Strabo.

When

extraordinary: the circumference of this is three thousand six hundred stadia, or sixty schæni, which is the length of Ægypt about the coast. This lake stretches itself from north to south, and in its deepest parts is two hundred cubits; it is entirely the produce of human industry, which indeed the work itself testifies, for in its centre may be seen two pyramids, each of which is two hundred cubits above and as many beneath the water; upon the summit of each is a colossal statue of marble, in a sitting attitude. The precise altitude of these pyramids is consequently four hundred cubits; these four hundred cubits, or one hundred orgyiæ, are adapted to a stadium of six hundred feet; an orgyia is six feet, or four cubits, for a foot is four palms, and a cubit six.

The waters of the lake are not supplied by springs; the ground which it occupies is of itself remarkably dry, but it communicates by a secret channel with the Nile; for six months the lake empties itself into the Nile, and the remaining six the Nile supplies the lake. During the six months in which the waters of the lake ebb, the fishery [267] which

When it is considered that this was the work of an individual, and that its object was the advantage and comfort of a numerous people, it must be agreed, with M. Savary, that Mœris, who constructed it, performed a far more glorious work than either the pyramids or the labyrinth.—*T.*

[267] *The fishery.*]—Diodorus Siculus informs us, that in this lake were found twenty-two different sorts of fish, and that so

which is here carried on furnishes the royal treasury with a talent of silver [268] every day; but as soon as the Nile begins to pour its waters into the lake, it produces no more than twenty minæ.

CL. Of this lake the inhabitants affirm, that it has a subterraneous passage inclining inland towards the west to the mountains above Memphis, where it discharges itself into the Libyan sands. I was anxious to know what became of the earth [269], which must somewhere have necessarily been heaped up in the digging this lake; as my search after it was fruitless, I made enquiries concerning it of those who lived nearer the lake. I was the more willing to believe, when they told me where it was carried, as I had before heard of a similar expedient used at

perpetually employed in salting them were hardly equal to the work.—*T.*

268 *Talent of silver.*]—The silver which the fishery of this lake produced was appropriated to find the queen with cloaths and perfumes.—*Larcher.*

269 *What became of the earth.*]—Herodotus, when he viewed this lake, might well be surprized at the account they gave him, that it was made by art; and had reason to ask them what they did with the earth they dug out. But he seems to have too much credulity, in being satisfied when they told him that they carried the earth to the Nile, and so it was washed away by the river; for it was very extraordinary to carry such a vast quantity of earth above ten miles from the nearest part of the lake, and fifty or sixty from the further parts, even though they might contrive water carriage for a great part of the way. This I should imagine a thing beyond belief, even if the lake were no larger than it is at present, that is, it may be fifty miles long and ten broad.—*Pococ[k]*

Nineveh,

Nineveh, an Aſſyrian city. Some robbers, who were ſollicitous to get poſſeſſion of the immenſe treaſures of Sardanapalus king of Nineveh, which were depoſited in ſubterraneous apartments, began from the place where they lived to dig under ground, in a direction towards them. Having taken the moſt accurate meaſurement, they continued their mine to the palace of the king; as night approached they regularly emptied the earth into the Tigris, which flows near Nineveh, and at length accompliſhed their purpoſe. A plan entirely ſimilar was executed in Ægypt, except that the work was here carried on not by night but by day; the Ægyptians threw the earth into the Nile, as they dug it from the trench; thus it was regularly diſperſed, and this, as they told me, was the proceſs of the lake's formation.

CLI. Theſe twelve kings were eminent for the juſtice of their adminiſtration. Upon a certain occaſion they were offering ſacrifice in the temple of Vulcan, and on the laſt day of the feſtival were about to make the accuſtomed libation[270]; for this purpoſe the chief prieſt handed to them the golden cups uſed on theſe ſolemnities, but he miſtook the

[270] *To make the accuſtomed libation.*]—As the kings were alſo prieſts, they did not before the time of Pſammitichus drink [illegible]
and if ſometimes they made libations to the gods with [illegible]
it was not that they believed it agreeable to the[illegible]
conſidered it as the blood of the gods who [illegible]
againſt them: they thought that their [illegible]
the earth, had produced the vin[illegible]

number, and instead of twelve gave only eleven. Psammitichus [271], who was the last of them, not having a cup, took off his helmet [272], which happened to be of brass, and from this poured his libation. The other princes wore helmets in common, and had them on the present occasion, so that the circumstance of this one king having and using his was accidental and innocent. Observing, however, this action of Psammitichus, they remembered the prediction of the oracle, "that he among them who should pour a libation from a brazen vessel, should be sole monarch of Ægypt." They minutely investigated the matter, and being satisfied that this action of Psammitichus was entirely the effect of

[271] *Psammitichus.*]—In the eight-and-twentieth year of the reign of Manasseh, the twelve confederated kings of Ægypt, after they had jointly reigned there fifteen years, falling out among themselves, expelled Psammitichus, one of their number, out [illegible] his share which he had hitherto had with them in the government of the kingdom, and drove him into banishment; whereupon flying into the fens near the sea he lay hid there, till having gotten together, out of the Arabian free-booters and the pirates of Caria and Ionia, such a number of soldiers as with the Ægyptians of his party made a considerable army, he marched with it against the other eleven; and having overthrown them in battle, slew several of them, and drove the rest out of the land, and thereon seizing the whole kingdom to himself reigned over it in great prosperity fifty-and-four years.—*Prideaux.*

[272] *His helmet.*]—It is certain that the ancients made use of their helmets on various occasions; whenever any thing was to [illegible]cided by lots, the lots were cast into a helmet; and as they [illegible] obvious for such a purpose, so many instances in [illegible]ur of soldiers drinking out of them.—*T.*

accident,

accident, they could not think him worthy of death; they neverthelefs deprived him of a confiderable part of his power, and confined him to the marfhy parts of the country, forbidding him to leave this fituation, or to communicate with the reft of Ægypt.

CLII. This Pfammitichus had formerly fled to Syria, from Sabacus the Æthiopian, who had killed his father Necos; when the Æthiopian, terrified by the vifion had abandoned his dominions, thofe Ægyptians who lived near Sais had follicited Pfammitichus to return. He was now a fecond time driven into exile amongft the fens, by the eleven kings, from this circumftance of the brazen helmet. He felt the ftrongeft refentment for the injury, and determined to avenge himfelf on his perfecutors; he fent therefore to the oracle of Latona, at Butos[273], which has among the [illegible] the higheft character for veracity. H[illegible]

[273] *Latona, at Butos.*]—This goddefs, one of the eight moft ancient divinities of the country, was called Buto, and particularly honoured in the city of that name; fhe had been the nurfe of Apollo and Diana, that is to fay, of Orus and Bubaftis, whom fhe had preferved from the fury of Typhon; the mole was facred to her. Antoninus Liberalis fays, that fhe affumed the form of this little animal to elude the purfuit of Typhon. Plutarch fays, that the Ægyptians rendered divine honours to the mole on account of its blindnefs; darknefs, according to them, being more ancient than light. M. Larcher adds, as a remark upon the obfervation of Plutarch, what indeed the refearches of natural hiftorians have made manifeft, that the mole is not blind, but

formed, that the ſea ſhould avenge his cauſe, by producing brazen figures of men. He was little inclined to believe that ſuch a circumſtance could ever occur; but ſome time afterwards, a body of Ionians and Carians [274], who had been engaged in a voyage of plunder, were compelled by diſtreſs to touch at Ægypt; they landed in brazen armour. Some Ægyptians haſtened to inform Pſammitichus in his marſhes of this incident; and as the meſſenger had never before ſeen perſons ſo armed, he ſaid, that ſome brazen men had ariſen from the ſea, and were plundering the country. He inſtantly conceived this to be the accompliſhment of the oracle's prediction, and entered into alliance with the ſtrangers, engaging them by ſplendid promiſes to aſſiſt him; with them and his Ægyptian adherents he vanquiſhed the eleven kings.

CLIII. After he thus became ſole ſovereign of Æ[illegible], he built at Memphis the veſtibule of the temple of Vulcan, which is towards the ſouth; op-

[274] *Ionians and Carians.*]—See Prideaux's note in the preceding chapter.—*T.*

Pſammitichus deſtroyed Tementhes king of Ægypt. The god Ammon had cautioned Tementhes, who conſulted him, to beware of cocks. Pſammitichus being intimately acquainted with Pignes the Carian, learned from him that the Carians were the firſt who wore creſts upon their helmets: he inſtantly comprehended the meaning of the oracle, and engaged the aſſiſtance of a large body of Carians; theſe he led towards Memphis, and fixed his camp near the temple of Iſis, here he engaged and conquered his adverſary.—*Polyænus.*

poſite

posite to this he erected an edifice for Apis, in which he is kept when publickly exhibited: it is supported by colossal figures twelve cubits high, which serve as columns; the whole of the building is richly decorated with sculpture. Apis, in the language of Greece, is Epaphus.

CLIV. In acknowledgment of the assistance he had received, Psammitichus conferred on the Ionians and Carians certain lands, which were termed the Camp, immediately opposite to each other, and separated by the Nile: he fulfilled also his other engagements with them, and entrusted to their care some Ægyptian children, to be instructed in the Greek language, from whom come those who in Ægypt act as interpreters. This district, which is near the sea, somewhat below Bubastis, at the Pelusian mouth of the Nile, was inhabited by the Ionians and Carians for a considerable succeeding period Amasis, to avail hi assistance against the Ægyptians, remo Memphis. Since the time of their first settlement in Ægypt, they have preserved a constant communication with Greece, so that we have a perfect knowledge of Ægyptian affairs from the reign of Psammitichus. They were the first foreigners whom the Ægyptians received among them: within my remembrance, in the places which they formerly occupied, the docks for their ships, and vestiges of their buildings, might be seen.

already, but it ſo well deſerves attention, that I ſhall expatiate ſtill farther on the ſubject. It is ſacred to Latona, and, as I have before ſaid, in a large city called Butos, at the Sebennitic mouth of the Nile, as approached from the ſea. In this city ſtands a temple of Apollo and Diana; that of Latona, whence the oracular communications are made, is very magnificent, having porticos forty cubits high. What moſt excited my admiration, was the ſhrine of the goddeſs [275]; it was of one ſolid ſtone [276], having equal ſides; the length of each was

[275] *Shrine of the goddeſs.*]—This enormous rock, two hundred and forty feet in circumference, was brought from a quarry in the iſle of Philæ, near the cataracts, on rafts, for the ſpace of two hundred leagues, to its deſtined place, and without contradiction was the heavieſt weight ever moved by human power. Many thouſand workmen, according to hiſtory, were three years employed in taking it to its place of deſtination.—*Savary.*

[276] *One ſolid ſtone.*]—About this iſle (Elephantine) there are ſever[al] [sm]aller iſlands, as two to the weſt, and four to the ſouth, whic[h] are high above the water, and alſo ſeveral large rocks of red granite. Two of them appear to have been worked as quarries, as well as the ſouth end of Elephantine. Out of one of theſe iſlands probably that entire room was cut of one ſtone, that was carried to Sais, taking, it may be, the advantage of the ſituation of the rock, ſo as to have only the labour of ſeparating the bottom of it from the quarry, and having firſt probably hollowed the ſtone into a room of the dimenſions deſcribed when I ſpoke of Sais.—*Pococke.*

In the above remark Pococke is manifeſtly miſtaken; the words of Herodotus deciſively contradict him. The ſtone was not placed in the temple of Minerva at Sais, but in the temple of Latona at Butos, as deſcribed in the chapter before us.—*T.*

The grand and ſublime ideas which the ancients entertained [of o]bjects of archit[ec]ture, [a]nd other monuments of art, almoſt exceed

was forty cubits; the roof is of another folid ftone, no lefs than four cubits in fubftance.

CLVI. Of all the things which here excite attention, this fhrine is, in my opinion, the moft to be admired. Next to this is the ifland of Chemmis, which is near the temple of Latona, and ftands in a deep and fpacious lake; the Ægyptians affirm it to be a floating ifland[277]: I did not witnefs the fact, and was aftonifhed to hear that fuch a thing exifted. In this ifland is a large edifice facred to Apollo, having three altars, and furrounded by palms, the natural produce of the foil. There are alfo great varieties of other plants, fome of which produce fruit, others are barren. The circumftance of this ifland's floating the Ægyptians thus explain:

exceed our powers of defcription. This before us is a moft extraordinary effort of human induftry and power; [illegible] minute and trifling, compared with an underta[illegible] named Stefícrates, propofed to Alexander, and re[illegible] tarch. He offered to convert mount Athos into [illegible] prince. This would have been in circumferenc[illegible] than one hundred and twenty miles, in height ten. The left arm of Alexander was to be the bafe of a city, capable of containing ten thoufand inhabitants. The right arm was to hold an urn, from which a river was to empty itfelf into the fea.—*T.*

277 *Floating ifland.*]—I am ignorant whether Chemmis has ever been a floating ifland. The Greeks pretend that Delos floated. I am perfuaded they only invented that fable from the recital of Ægyptians fettled amongft them; and that they attributed to Delos, the birth-place of Apollo, what the Ægyptians related of Chemmis, the place of retreat to their Apollo. A rock two thoufand toifes long could not float upon the waves; but the Greeks, who dearly loved [illegible]rvellous, did [illegible] examine things [illegible] clofely.—*Larcher.*

it was once fixed and immoveable, when Latona, who has ever been esteemed one of the eight primary divinities, dwelt at Butos. Having received Apollo in trust from Isis, she consecrated and preserved him in this island, which, according to their account, now floats. This happened when Typhon, earnestly endeavouring to discover the son of Osiris, came here. Their tradition says, that Apollo and Diana were the offspring of Bacchus and Isis, and that Latona was their nurse and preserver. Apollo, Ceres, and Diana, the Ægyptians respectively call Orus, Isis, and Bubastis. From this alone, Æschylus [278], son of Euphorion, took his account, the first poet who represented Diana as the daughter of Ceres, and referred to this the circumstance of the island's floating.

CLVII. Psammitichus reigned in Ægypt fifty-four years, twenty-nine of which he consumed in the [illegible] of a great city of Syria, which he afterwards took; the name of this place was Azotus [279]. I know

[278] *Æschylus.*]—This was doubtless in some piece not come down to us. Pausanias says also, that Æschylus, son of Euphorion, was the first who communicated to the Greeks the Ægyptian history; that Diana was the daughter of Ceres, and not of Latona.—*Larcher.*

The same remark is made by Valcnaer, in Wesseling's edition of Herodotus. But all are united in the opinion, that Pausanias made his remark from this passage of Herodotus.—*T.*

I know not that any town ever sustained so long and obstinate a siege.

CLVIII. Psammitichus had a son, whose name was Necos, by whom he was succeeded in his authority. This prince first commenced that canal [280]

the idol of their god Dagon. Its scriptural name was Ashdod. When the Philistines took the ark from the Jews, they placed it in the temple of Dagon, at Ashdod. See 1 Samuel, chap. v. 2, 3.

"When the Philistines took the ark of God, they took it into the house of Dagon, and set it by Dagon.

"And when they of Ashdod arose early on the morrow, behold, Dagon was fallen upon his face to the earth before the ark of the Lord," &c.

This place is also mentioned in the Acts. Philip, having baptized the eunuch of Candace, was caught away by the Spirit of the Lord, and found at Azotus. There is still in this place an old structure, with fine marble pillars, which the inhatants say was the house which Samson pulled down.—*T.*

[280] *That canal.*]—The account given by Diodorus Siculus is this:—The canal reaching from the Pelusian mouth of [illegible]e Nile to the Sinus Arabicus and the Red Sea, was ma[illegible]ands. Necos, the son of Psammitichus, was the first that attemp[illegible]d it, and after him Darius the Persian carried on the work something farther, but left it at length unfinished; for he was informed by some, that in thus digging through the isthmus he would cause Ægypt to be deluged, for they shewed him that the Red Sea was higher than the land of Ægypt. Afterwards Ptolemy the Second finished the canal, and in the most proper place contrived a sluice for confining the water, which was opened when they wanted to sail through, and was immediately closed again, the use of it answering extremely well the design. The river flowing through this canal is called the Ptolemæan, from the name of its author. Where it discharges itself into th[illegible] a city named Arsinoe. Of this canal Norden r[illegible] was unable to discover the smallest [illegible] Kieni, or the adjacent parts.

leading to the Red Sea, which Darius, king of Persia, afterwards continued. The length of this canal is equal to a four days voyage, and it is wide enough to admit two triremes abreast. The water enters it from the Nile, a little above the city Bubastis: it terminated in the Red Sea, not far from Patumos, an Arabian town. They began to sink this canal in that part of Ægypt which is nearest Arabia. Contiguous to it is a mountain which stretches towards Memphis, and contains quarries of stone. Commencing at the foot of this, it extends from west to east, through a considerable tract of country, and where a mountain opens to the south is discharged into the Arabian gulph. From the northern to the southern, or, as it is generally called, the Red Sea, the shortest passage is over mount Cassius, which divides Ægypt from Syria, from whence to the Arabian gulph are a thousand stadia. The way by the canal, on account of the different circ[illegible]xions, is considerably longer. In the prosecution of this work, under Necos, no less than one hundred and twenty thousand Ægyptians perished. He at length desisted from his undertaking, being admonished by an oracle, that all his labour would turn to the advantage of a barbarian; and it is to be observed, that the Ægyptians term all barbarians who speak a language different from their

of war, both on the Northern Ocean, and in that part of the Arabian gulph which is near the Red Sea. Veſtiges of his naval undertakings are ſtill to be ſeen. His fleets were occaſionally employed, but he alſo by land conquered the Syrians in an engagement near the town of Magdolum [281], and after his victory obtained poſſeſſion of Cadytis [282], a Syrian city. The veſt which he wore when he got this victory he conſecrated to Apollo, and ſent to the Mileſian Branchidæ. After a reign of ſeventeen years, he died, leaving the kingdom to his ſon Pſammis.

CLX. During the reign of this prince, ſome ambaſſadors arrived in Ægypt from the Eleans. This people boaſted that the eſtabliſhment of the Olympic games poſſeſſed every excellence, and was not ſurpaſſed even by the Ægyptians, though the wiſeſt of mankind. On their arrival, they explained th[illegible] motives of their journey; in conſequence of [illegible] the

[281] *Magdolum.*]—The battle here mentioned was againſt Joſias, king of Judah. It did not take place at Magdolum, a place in Lower Ægypt, but at Magiddo. The reſemblance of the names deceived Herodotus.—*Larcher.*

[282] *Cadytis.*]—This city of Cadytis could be no other than Jeruſalem. Herodotus afterwards deſcribes this to be a mountainous city in Paleſtine, of the bigneſs of Sardis. There could be no other equal to Sardis, but Jeruſalem. It is certain from Scripture, that after this battle Necos did take Jeruſalem, [illegible] he was there when he made Jehoiakim king.—*See P[illegible] Connect.* i. 56—7.

D'Anville alſo conſiders Cadytis as Jeruſ[illegible] authors diſſent.—*T.*

prince called a meeting of the wiſeſt of his ſubjects; at this aſſembly the Eleans deſcribed the particular regulations they had eſtabliſhed; and deſired to know if the Ægyptians could recommend any improvement. After ſome deliberation, the Ægyptians enquired whether their fellow-citizens were permitted to contend at theſe games. They were informed in reply, that all the Greeks without diſtinction were ſuffered to contend. The Ægyptians obſerved, that this muſt of courſe lead to injuſtice, for it was impoſſible not to favour their fellow-citizens, in preference to ſtrangers. If, therefore, the object of their voyage to Ægypt was to render their regulations perfect, they ſhould ſuffer only ſtrangers to contend in their games, and particularly exclude the Eleans.

CLXI. Pſammis reigned but ſix years; he made an expedition to Æthiopia, and died ſoon afterwards. He was ſucceeded by his ſon Apries[283], who, next to his grandfather Pſammitichus, was fortunate[284] beyond all his predeceſſors, and reigned

[283] *Apries.*]—This is the ſame who in Scripture is called Pharaoh Hophra. It was at this period that Ezekiel was carried to Jeruſalem, and ſhewn the different kinds of idolatry then practiſed by the Jews, which makes up the ſubject of the 8th, 9th, 10th, and 11th chapters of his prophecies.—See *Prideaux.*

five-and-twenty years [285]. He made war upon Sidon, and engaged the king of Tyre in battle by ſea. I ſhall briefly mention in this place the calamities which afterwards befel him; but ſhall diſcuſs them more fully [286] when I treat of the Libyan affairs. Apries having ſent an army againſt the Cyreneans, received a ſevere check. This misfortune the Ægyptians aſcribed to his own want of conduct; and imagining themſelves marked out for deſtruction, revolted from his authority. They ſuppoſed his views were, by deſtroying them, to ſecure his tyranny over the reſt of their country. The friends, therefore, of ſuch as had been ſlain, with thoſe who returned in ſafety, openly rebelled.

CLXII. On diſcovery of this, Apries ſent Amaſis to ſoothe the malcontents. Whilſt this officer was perſuading them to deſiſt from their purpoſe, an Ægyptian ſtanding behind him placed an helm[illegible] on his head [287], ſaying that by this act he had m[illegible] [illegible]m king. The ſequel proved that Amaſis was not averſe [288] to the deed; for as ſoon as the rebels had declared

[285] *Five-and-twenty years.*]—Diodorus Siculus ſays he reigned twenty-two years; Syncellus nineteen.

[286] *Diſcuſs them more fully.*]—This refers to book the fourth, chap. clix. of our author; but Herodotus probably forgot th[illegible] engagement here made, for no particulars of the misfortunes [illegible] Apries are there mentioned.—[illegible]

[287] *Helmet on his head.*]—The helmet in Ægypt [illegible] tinction of royalty.

[288] *Was not averſe.*]—Diodorus Sicu[illegible] relat[illegible] far from making any great effort to [illegible]

declared him king, he prepared to march against Apries; on intelligence of this event, the king sent Patarbemis, one of the most faithful of those who yet adhered to him, with directions to bring Amasis alive to his presence. Arriving where he was, he called to Amasis. Amasis was on horseback, and lifting up his leg, he broke wind, and bade him carry that to his master. Patarbemis persisted in desiring him to obey the king; this, Amasis replied, he had long determined to do, that Apries should have no reason to complain of him, for he would soon be with him, and bring others also. Of the purport of this answer Patarbemis was well aware; taking, therefore, particular notice of the hostile preparations of the rebels, he returned, intending instantly to inform the king of his danger. Apries, when he saw him, without hearing him speak, as he did not bring Amasis, ordered his nose and ears to be cut off. The Ægyptians of his party, incensed at this treatment [illegible] man much and deservedly respected, immediately went over to Amasis.

CLXIII. Apries on this put himself at the head of his Ionian and Carian auxiliaries, who were with him to the amount of thirty thousand men, and marched against the Ægyptians. Departing from

two armies met at Momemphis, and made ready for battle.

CLXIV. The Ægyptians are divided into seven classes[289]. These are the priests, the military, herdsmen, swineherds, tradesmen, interpreters, and pilots. They take their names from their professions. Ægypt is divided into provinces, and the soldiers from those which they inhabit are called Calasiries and Hermotybies.

CLXV. The Hermotybian district contains Busiris, Sais, Chemmis, Papremis, the island of Prosopis, and part of Natho; which places, at the highest calculation, furnish one hundred and sixty thousand Hermotybians. These, avoiding all mercantile employments, follow the profession of arms[290].

CLXVI.

289 *Seven classes.*]—I have remarked on this subject, chap. cxli. from Diodorus, that the division of the Ægyptians was in fact but into three classes, the last of which was subdivided into others.

The Indians are divided into four principal casts, each of which is again subdivided—Bramins, the military, labourers, and artizans.—*T.*

It is observable of the Iberians, that they were divided into different casts, each of which had its proper function. The rank ... ere heredit

CLXVI. The Calasirians inhabit Thebes, Bubastis, Apthis, Tanis, Mendes, Sebennis, Athribis, Pharbæthis,

a warm attachment to liberty, has, till within a late period, been a most unusual circumstance. On the subject of standing armies, nothing, perhaps, has been written with greater energy and effect than by Mr. Moyle.

"Every country," says M. Larcher, "which encourages a standing army of foreigners, and where the profession of arms is the road to the highest honours, is either enslaved, or on the point [illegible] so. Foreign soldiers in arms, are never so much th[illegible]s of the citizens, as the attendants of the despot. [illegible] that passion of elevated souls, which prompts us to [illegible] weakens and expires. The interest which forms [illegible]ixt the prince and his subjects, ceases to be the [illegible] real defence of the state can no longer be vigorous. [illegible]t is a proof: its despots, not satisfied with the [illegible], always ready for service, had recourse to foreign [illegible] They were depressed, and passed with little dif[illegible] dominion of the Persians, afterwards under that [illegible] of Rome, of the Mamelukes, and the Turks. The [illegible]ot be loved by his slaves, and without the love [illegible] the prince totters on his throne, and is ready to [illegible]ks his situation the most secure."

"Amongst men," says Æschines, "there are three sorts of governments, monarchic, oligarchic, and republican. Monarchies and oligarchies are governed by the caprice of those who have the management of affairs, republics by established laws. Know then, Oh Athenians! that a free people preserve their liberty and lives by the laws, monarchies and oligarchies by tyranny and a standing army."

To the above I cannot resist the inclination I h[illegible]ve to add [illegible] Mr. Moyle the underwritten.

[illegible] Israelites, Athenians, Corinthians, Achaians, Lacedæ[illegible]ans, Samnites, and Romans, none of them, when [illegible]rty, w[illegible]re ever known to maintain any sol[illegible] [illegible]heir cities, or ever suffered any of [illegible] their

who were of no profession, annexing the highest degrees of honour to the exercise of arms. This idea prevails throughout Greeee, but more particularly at Lacedæmon; the Corinthians, however, do not hold mechanics in disesteem.

CLXVIII. The soldiers and the priests are the only ranks in Ægypt who are honourably distinguished; these each of them receive from the public a portion of ground of twelve acres, free from all taxes. Each acre contains an hundred Ægyptian cubits, which are the same as so many cubits of [illegible]. Besides this, the military enjoy in their [illegible] other advantages: one thousand Calasirians and as many Hermotybians are every year on duty as the king's guards; whilst on this service, in addition to their assignments of land, each man has a daily allowance of five pounds of bread, two of beef, with four arusteres [292] of wine.

CLXIX. Apries with his auxiliaries, and Amasis at the head of the Ægyptians, met and fought at Momemphis. The mercenaries displayed great valour, but being much inferior in number, were ultimately defeated. Of the permanence of his authority, Apries is said to have entertained so high an opinion, that he conceived it not to be in the power even of a deity to dethrone him. He was, however, conquered and taken prisoner; after his captivity he

[illegible] —Hesychius makes the word αρυστης synonymous [illegible] measure somewhat less than a pint.—*T.*

was

Pharbæthis, Thmuis, Onuphis, Anyfis, and Mycephoris, which is an ifland oppofite to Bubaftis. In their moft perfect ftate of population, thefe places furnifh two hundred and fifty thoufand men. Neither muft thefe follow mechanic employments, but the fon regularly fucceeds the father [291] in a military life.

CLXVII. I am not able to decide whether the Greeks borrowed this laft-mentioned cuftom from the Ægyptians, for I have alfo feen it obferved in various parts of Thrace, Scythia, Perfia, and Lydia. It feems, indeed, to be an eftablifhed [illegible]dice, even among nations the leaft refined, to conf[illegible] mechanics and their defcendants in the loweft rank of citizens, and to efteem thofe as the moft noble

their fubjects to make war their profeffion, well knowing that the fword and fovereignty always march hand in hand." T.

291 *Regularly fucceeds the father.*]—We know ver[illegible] that nothing is more injurious to the police or municipal co[illegible]ion of any city or colony, than the forcing of a particular tra[illegible]e; nothing more dangerous than the over-peopling any manufacture, or multiplying the traders and dealers of whatever vocation, beyond their natural proportion, and the public demand. Now it happened of old in Ægypt, the mother land of fuperftition, that the fons of certain artifts were by law obliged always to follow the fame calling with their father.—See *Lord Shaftefbury's Mifcellaneous Reflections.*

Before th[illegible] invention of letters, mankind may be faid to have

was conducted to Sais, to what was formerly his own, but then the palace of Amasis. He was here confined for some time, and treated by Amasis with much kindness and attention. But the Ægyptians soon began to reproach him for preserving a person who was their common enemy, and he was induced to deliver up Apries to their power. They strangled [293], and afterwards buried him in the tomb of his ancestors, which stands in the temple of Minerva, on the left side of the vestibule. In this temple th[illegible] inhabitants of Sais buried all the princes who were of their province, but the tomb of Amasis is more remote from the building, than [illegible]hat of A[illegible] his ancestors.

CLXX. In the area before this temple stands a

293 *They strangled, &c.*]—It is to this prince, whom, as I before mentioned, the Scriptures denote by the name of [illegible]haraoh Hophra, that the following passages allude.

"The land of Ægypt shall be desolate and waste, [illegible] they shall know that I am the Lord: because he hath said, The r[illegible]er is mine, and I have made it.

"Behold therefore, I am against thee, and against thy rivers, an[illegible]e the land of Ægypt utterly waste and desolate." E[illegible] 9, 10.

[illegible] the Lord, I will give Pharaoh Hophra, king of Æ[illegible]e hand of his enemies, and into the hand of them th[illegible]e." Jeremiah, xliv. 9.

[illegible]

large marble edifice, magnificently adorned with obeliſks, in the ſhape of palm-trees, with various other ornaments; in this are two doors, forming an entrance to the monument. They have alſo at Sais the tomb of a certain perſonage, whom I do not think myſelf permitted to ſpecify. It is behind the temple of Minerva, and is continued the whole length of the wall of that building. Around this are many large obeliſks, near which is a lake, whoſe banks are lined with ſtone; it is of a circular form, and as I ſhould think as large as that of Delos, which is called Trochoides.

CLXXI. Upon this lake are repreſented by night the accidents which happened to him whom I dare not name: the Egyptians call them their myſteries [294]. Concerning theſe, at the ſame time that I confeſs myſelf ſufficiently informed, I feel myſelf compelled to ſilence. Of the ceremonies alſo in honour of Ceres, which the Greeks call Theſmophoria [295], I may

294 Their *myſteries.*]—How very ſacred the ancients deemed their myſteries, appears from the following paſſage of Apollonius Rhodius:

> To Samothrace, Electra's iſle, they ſteer,
> That there initiated in rites divine
> Safe might they ſail the navigable brine.
> But, muſe, preſume not of thoſe rites to tell:
> Farewell, dread iſle, dire deities, farewell.
> [illegible] my verſe thoſe myſteries explain,
> [illegible] is impious, to reveal profane.

[illegible] myſteries were celebrated at ſtated

may not venture to speak, further than the obligations of religion will allow me. They were brought from Ægypt by the daughters of Danaus, and by them revealed to the Pelasgian women. But when

seasons of the year, with solemn shows, and a great pomp of machinery, which drew a mighty concourse to them from all countries. L. Crassus, the great orator, happened to come two days after they were over, and would gladly have persuaded the magistrates to renew them; but not being able to prevail, left the city in disgust. This shews how cautious they were of making them too cheap. The shows are supposed to have represented heaven, hell, elysium, purgatory, and all that related to the future state of the dead: being contrived to inculcate more sensibly, and exemplify the doctrines delive d to the in[illegible] they were a proper subject for poetr[illegible] they are alluded to by the ancient poets. This [illegible]rms also the [illegible]bility of that ingenious comment which the author of the Divine Legation has given in the sixth book of the Æneid, where Virgil, as he observes, in describing the descent into hell, is but tracing out in their genuine order the several scenes of the Eleusinian shows.—*Middleton's Life of Cicero.*

These feasts were celebrated in honour of Ceres, [illegible] [re]spect to her character as a lawgiver:

> Prima Ceres unco glebam dimovit aratro
> Prima dedit fruges, alimentaque mitia terris;
> Prima dedit leges. Cereris sumus omnia munus.

Θεσμος, according to Hesychius, signifies a divine law, νομος θειος. The men were not allowed to be present, and only women of superior rank. The sacred books were carried by virgins. According to Ovid, they continued nine days, during

the tranquillity of the Peloponnese was disturbed by the Dorians, and the ancient inhabitants expelled, these rites were insensibly neglected or forgotten. The Arcadians, who retained their original habitations, were the only people who preserved them.

CLXXII. Such being the fate of Apries, Amasis, who was of the city of Siuph, in the district of Sais, succeeded to the throne. At the commencement of his reign, the Ægyptians, remembering his plebeian origin[296], held him in contempt; but his mild conduct and political sagacity afterwards con[illegible] their affections. Among other valuables [illegible] possessed was a gold vessel, in which he [illegible] guests were accustomed to spit, make water, and wash their feet. Of the materials of this he made a statue of some god, which he placed in the most conspicuous part of the city. The Ægyptians assembling before it paid it divine honours: on hearing w[illegible] king called them together, and informed [illegible] that the image they thus venerated was made [illegible] vessel of gold which he and they had formerly [illegible] the most unseemly purposes. He afterwards explained to them the similar circumstances of his own fortune, who, though formerly a plebeian, was now their sovereign, and entitled to their reverence.

296 *Plebeian origin.*]—We are told in Athenæus, that the [illegible] of Amasis was owing to his having presented Apries on his [illegible]ay with a beautiful chaplet of flowers. The king was so [illegible] this mark of his attention, that he invited him to [illegible]ceived him amongst the number of his friends.

By ſuch means he ſecured their attachment, as well as their ſubmiſſive obedience to his authority.

CLXXIII. The ſame prince thus regulated his time: from the dawn of the day to ſuch time as the public ſquare of the city was filled with people, he gave audience to whoever required it. The reſt of the day he ſpent at the table, where he drank, laughed, and diverted himſelf with his gueſts, indulging in every ſpecies of licentious converſation. Upon this conduct ſome of his friends remonſtrated: —"Sir," they obſerved, "do you not diſhonour your "rank by theſe exceſſive and u[illegible]ecoming [illegible] "From your awful throne y[illegible]ught t[illegible] "yourſelf in the adminiſtration [illegible] public affairs, [illegible]d "by ſuch conduct increaſe the dignity of your name, "and the veneration of your ſubjects. Your preſent "life is moſt unworthy of a king." "They," replied Amaſis, "who have a bow, bend [illegible] onl[illegible] at th[illegible] "time they want it; when not in uſe, they [illegible] it to "be relaxed, it would otherwiſe break, and no[illegible]e of "ſervice when exigence required. It is prec[illegible] "the ſame with a man; if without ſome inter[illegible] "amu[illegible]ment, he applied himſelf conſtantly to ſe[illegible]ous "purſ[illegible]its, he would imperceptibly loſe his vigour "both of mind and body. It is the conviction of

to drinking and jollity. If at any time he wanted money for his expenſive pleaſures, he had recourſe to robbery. By thoſe who ſuſpected him as the author of their loſs, he was frequently, on his proteſting himſelf innocent, carried before the oracle, by which he was frequently condemned, and as often acquitted. As ſoon as he obtained the ſupreme authority, ſuch deities as had pronounced him innocent he treated with the greateſt contumely, neglecting their temples, and never offering them either preſents or ſacrifices; this he did by way of teſtifying his diſlike of their falſe declarations. Such, however, as decided [illegible], in teſtimony of their truth and juſtice, [illegible] gods, with every mark of [illegible] and eſteem.

CLXXV. In honour of Minerva this prince erected at Sais a magnificent portico, exceeding every thing of the kind in ſize and grandeur. The ſtones of [illegible] was compoſed were of a very uncommon ſize [illegible], and decorated with a number of coloſſal ſtatues and androſphynges[297] of enormous magnitude.

297 Androſphynges.]—This was a monſtrous figure, with the body of a lion and face of a man. The artiſts of Ægypt, [illegible] commonly repreſented the ſphinx with the body of a lion, [illegible] of a young woman. Theſe were generally placed [illegible] entrance of temples to ſerve as a type of the enigmatic [illegible] of the Ægyptian theology.—*Larcher.*

[illegible] des Ægyptiens ont les deux ſexes, c'eſt à dire [illegible] par devant, ayant une tete de femme, & [illegible] ticules ſont apparentes. C'eſt une [illegible] encore faite :

magnitude. To repair this temple he alſo collected ſtones of an amazing thickneſs, part of which he brought from the quarries of Memphis, and part from the city of Elephantine, which is diſtant from Sais a journey of about twenty days. But what, in my opinion, is moſt of all to be admired, was an edifice which he brought from Elephantine, conſtructed of

"Il reſulte de l'inſpection de quelques monumens que les artiſtes Grecs donnoient auſſi des natures compoſées a ces êtres mixtes, et qu'ils faiſoient même des ſphinx barbu, comme le prouve un bas relief en terre cuite, conſervé a la Farneſina. Lorſque Herodote nommes les ſphinx des androſphynges, il a voulu deſigner par cette expreſſion la [illegible]plicité de [illegible] Les ſphinx qui ſont aux quatre faces d[illegible] pointe d[illegible] du ſoleil, ſont remarquables par leu[illegible] s d'hon[illegible] d'ongles crochus, commes les griffes de[illegible] bêtes féroces."—*[illegible]kelmann.*

Dr. Pococke obſerves, that this ſphinx is cut out of a rock. This extraordinary monument is ſaid to have bee[illegible] ſepulchre of Amaſis, though I think it is mentioned by [illegible]o[illegible] the ancient authors, except Pliny.

M. Maillet is of opinion, that the union of the h[illegible] gin with the body of a lion, is a ſymbol of what hap[illegible] Ægypt when the ſun is in the ſigns of Leo and Virgo, an[illegible] Nile overflows.—*See Norden's Travels.*

Oppoſite the ſecond pyramid, eaſtward, is the enorm[illegible] ſphinx, the whole body of which is buried in the ſand, t[illegible] top of the back only to be ſeen, which is above a hundred feet long, and is of a ſingle ſtone, making part of the rock on which the pyramids reſt. Its head riſes about ſeven-and-twe[illegible] feet

one entire ftone. The carriage of it employed two thoufand men, all of whom were pilots, an entire period of three years. The length of this ftructure on the outfide is twenty-one cubits, it is fourteen wide, and eight high; in the infide the length of it is twenty-two cubits and twenty digits, twelve cubits wide, and five high. It is placed at the entrance of the temple; the reafon it was carried no further is this; the architect, reflecting upon his long and continued fatigue, fighed deeply, which incident [illegible] omen, and obliged him to [illegible], however, affirm that one of thofe [illegible] it by levers, was crufh- [illegible] reafon it was advanced no [illegible]

[illegible] other temples alfo Amafis made [illegible] ent prefents. At Memphis, be- [illegible] of Vulcan, he placed a coloffal re- [illegible] which was feventy-five feet long. [illegible] edestal are two other coloffal fi- [illegible] of the fame ftone, and each twenty [illegible] the fame fize, and in the fame atti- [illegible] coloffal ftatue may be feen at Sais. [illegible] built alfo at Memphis the temple of [illegible] eur of which excites univerfal admi- [illegible]

[illegible] II. With refpect to all thofe advantages [illegible] confers upon the foil, and the foil on [illegible] reign of Amafis was fortunate [illegible] who under this prince could [illegible]

boaſt of twenty thouſand cities [298] well inhabited. Amaſis is further remarkable for having inſtituted that law which obliges every Ægyptian once in the year to explain to the chief magiſtrate of his diſtrict the means by which he obtains his ſubſiſtence. The refuſal to comply with this ordinance, or the not being able to prove that a livelihood was procured by honeſt means, was a capital offence. This law Solon [299] borrowed from Ægypt, and eſtabliſhed at Athens,

298 *Twenty thouſand cities.*]—This country was once the moſt populous of the known world, and now it does not appear inferior to any. In ancient times it had eighteen thouſa[illegible] well conſiderable towns as cities, as may be [illegible]n by the [illegible] ters. In the time of Ptolemy Lagu[illegible] were th[illegible] which ſtill remain. In a general accou[illegible] taken of the [illegible] tants, they amounted to ſeven thouſand, and there are no leſs three millions at preſent.—*Diodorus Siculus.*

Ancient Ægypt ſupplied food to eight millions of inhabit[illegible] and to Italy and the neighbouring provinces [illegible]kewiſe. [illegible] ſent the eſtimate is not one half. I do not think, with H[illegible] and Pliny, that this kingdom contained twenty tho[illegible] the time of Amaſis: but the aſtoniſhing ruins ever[illegible] be found, and in uninhabited places, prove they muſt hav[illegible] thrice as numerous as they are.—*Savary.*

It is impracticable to form a juſt eſtimate of the popu[illegible] Ægypt. Nevertheleſs, as it is known that the number o[illegible] own[illegible] and vill[illegible]es does not exceed two thouſand three hundred, an[illegible] the num[illegible]er of inhabitants in each of them, one with another including Cairo itſelf, is not more than a thouſand, the tota[illegible] cannot [illegible] more than two millions three hundred thouſand.—

where it ſtill remains in force, experience having proved its wiſdom.

CLXXVIII. This king was very partial to the Greeks, and favoured them upon every occaſion. Such as wiſhed to have a regular communication with Ægypt, he permitted to have a ſettlement at Naucratis. To others, who did not require a fixed reſidence, as being only engaged in occaſional commerce, he [illegible] places for the conſtruction [illegible] mance of their religious [illegible] is and celebrated temple [illegible] they call Hellenium. It [illegible] expence of the Ionians of [illegible] and Clazomenæ; of the Do- [illegible] lus, Halicarnaſſus, and Phaſe- [illegible] of Mitylene only. Hellenium [illegible] erty of all theſe cities, who alſo [illegible] cers for the regulation of their [illegible] laims of other cities to theſe diſ- [illegible] vileges is abſurd and falſe. The [illegible] it be obſerved, conſtructed by them- [illegible] e to Jupiter, as did the Samians to [illegible] Mileſians to Apollo.

CLXXIX. Formerly Naucratis was the ſole [illegible] of Ægypt; whoever came to any other [illegible] Canopian mouth of the Nile, [illegible] ſwear that it was entirely accid[illegible] [illegible] eſſel obliged to go thit[illegible] [illegible] great eſtimation, [illegible] paſſage, the m[illegible]

obliged to move his goods on board the common boats of the river, and carry them round the Delta to Naucratis.

CLXXX. By ſome accident the ancient temple of Delphi was once conſumed by fire, and the Amphictyons had voted a ſum of three hundred talents to be levied for the purpoſe of rebuilding it. A fourth part of this was aſſigned to the Delphians, who to collect their quota went about to different cities, and obtained a very conſiderable ſum from [illegible]. Amaſis preſented them[300] with a thouſand talents of alum. The Greeks who reſided in Ægypt [illegible] collection of twenty minæ.

CLXXXI. This king made a friendly and amicable confederacy with the Cyrenians, in conſe-[illegible] which he determined to take a wife of that country, either to ſhew his particular attachment to the Cyrenians, or his partiality to a woman of [illegible]. She whom he married is reported by ſome to [illegible] been the daughter of Battus, by others of Arceſila[illegible], or as ſome ſay of Critobulus. She was certain[illegible] deſcended of an honourable family, and her [illegible]

300 *Amaſis preſented them.*]—Different ſpecies of animals were

he gave two marble ftatues, with a linen corfelet, which well deferves infpection. Two figures of himfelf,

painting, is a fubject involved in great difficulty. Perhaps we are not extravagant in faying, that it was known in the time of the Trojan war. The following note is to be found in Servius, Annot. ad Æneid. ii. ver. 392. "Scutis Græcorum, Neptunus, Trojanorum fuit Minerva depicta."

With refpect to the Ægyptians, it is afferted by Tacitus, that they knew the art of defigning before they were acquainted with letters. "Primi per figuras animalium Ægyptii fenfus mentis effingebant et antiquiffima monumenta memoriæ humanæ [illegible] faxis cernuntur." Annal. lib. x[illegible]

It is ingenioufly remarked by Webb, [illegible] of the [illegible] of painting, that when the Spaniards [illegible]ved in [illegible] the news was fent to the emperor in painted expreffes, they [illegible] having at that time the ufe of letters.

Mr. Norden fays, that in the higher Ægypt to this day m[illegible] be feen, amongft the ruins of fuperb edifices, [illegible] ftained, fo exquifitely frefh in point of colour, that [illegible] cently difmiffed from the hand of the artift. Winck[illegible] that in the Ægyptian mummies which have been [illegible] examined, there are apparent the fix diftinct colours of [illegible] black, blue, red, yellow, and green; but thefe, in point of [illegible] fect, are contemptible, compared with the columns allud[ed to] above, feen and defcribed by Norden. Pococke [illegible] tells us, [illegible] in the ruins of the palaces of the kings of Thebes, the picture of the king is painted at full length on ftone. Both the fides an[d] ceilings of the room in which this is to be feen are cut with hie[ro]roglyphics of birds and beafts, and fome of them painted, be[ing] as frefh as if they were but juft finifhed [illegible]

himſelf, carved in wood, he preſented to the temple of Juno at Samos; they were placed immediately behind the gates, where they ſtill remain. His kindneſs to Samos was owing to the hoſpitality[302] which ſubſiſted between him and Polycrates, the ſon of Æax. He had no ſuch motive of attachment to Lindus, but was moved by the report that the temple of Minerva there was erected by the daughters of Danaus, when they fled from the ſons of Æ yptus.—Such was the munificence of Amaſis, w o was alſo the firſt perſon that conquered Cyprus, a compelled it to pay him tribute.

it to the of a man, or made it like ſome vile beaſt, ng over wi nillion, and with paint colouring it red, d covering every ſpot therein."

It ſeems rather a far-fetched explanation, to ſay that this was done becauſe he firſt ſtatues were ſet up in memory of war , remark e for ſhedding much blood. Yet it is ſo inter- d in H rmer's Obſervations on Paſſages of Scripture. Of nting the reliques are indeed but few; but thoſe ex- by Pococke and Norden, and the beautiful ſpecimens ch have at different times been dug up at Herculaneum, are fficient to ſhew that the artiſts poſſeſſed extraordinary excel- . That in particular of Chiron and Achilles, which many i enious men have not ſcrupled to aſcribe to arrhaſius, is aid to be remarkably beautiful.

The great founder of the art of painting in a ient Greece was Zeuxis, as was Michael Angelo amongſt he moderns. —*T.*

[302] *Hoſpitality.*]—T at tie among the ancie s, wh was atified by particular eremonies, and conſide d as the moſt d of ll engagem ents: nor diſſolved ex ept with certain d for weighty reaſons.

F THE FIRST OLUME.